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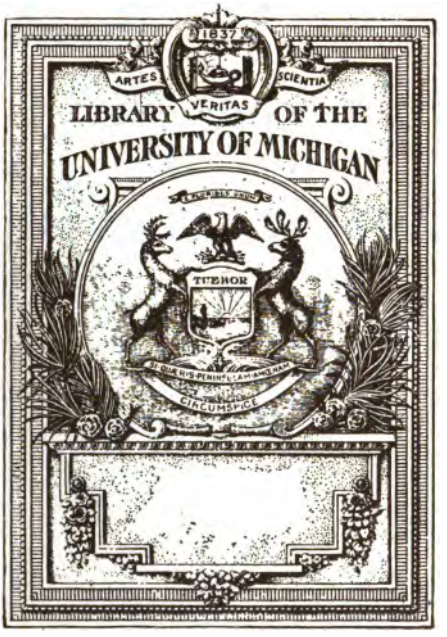
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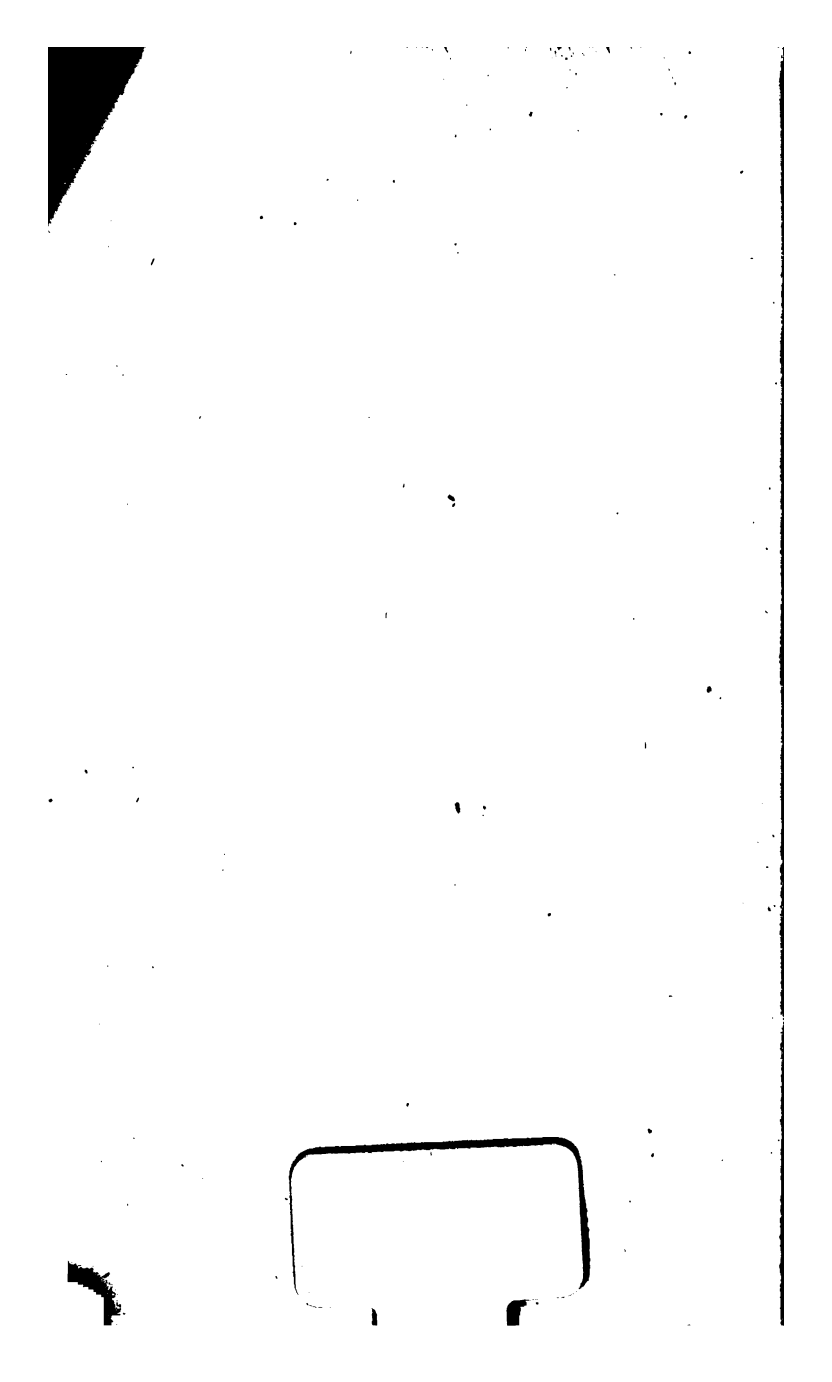

Miscellanea Scotica.

A

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TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

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AND

LITERATURE

OF

SCOTLAND.

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II. Monipennie's Summarie, or Abridgement of the Scots Chronicle; with a Description of the Western Isles.

III. History of the Feuds and Conflicts of the Clans —Narrative of the Massacre of Glencoe.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE PICTS,

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGINAL, LANGUAGE, MANNERS, GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, BOUNDS AND LIMITS OF THEIR KINGDOM.

ALSO,

THEIR MOST MEMORABLE BATTLES WITH THE BRITAINS, ROMANS, SCOTS, &c. UNTILL THEIR FINAL OVERTHROW AND EXTIRPATION.

WITH

A Catalogue of their Kings,

AND OF

THE ROMAN GOVERNOURS

WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THEM AND THE SCOTS.

AND

AT THE END IS ADDED A CLAVIS,

Explaining the proper names and difficult words of the History.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY R. FREEBAIRN, MDCCVI.

Glasgow:

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By Robert Chapman.

1818.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of this history is not so certainly known; some name Sir James Balfour, Lyon King at Arms, in King Charles I. time, for the author of it, because the original manuscript in the lawyers library at Edinburgh, seems to be the same hand with his annals, which unquestionably is an autograph. But others more probably think that Mr. Henry Maule of Melgum is the author, since he subscribes his name to the copy of verses which is subjoined to this. 'Tis true, they are very general, and little could be inferred from them, if it were not that they run in the same strain with the author's preface.

But the truth is, it is of no great importance which of them was the author, since they were both very learned and worthy gentlemen.

I have taken care to compare it exactly with the original, and do not question but that it will meet with kind entertainment, since it bears so near a relation to our Scots history, and may be of use to any who would do some thing more full on the subject.

TO MY

MUCH HONOURED AND VERY WORTHY FRIEND,

SIR JAMES BALFOUR,

LYON KING AT ARMS.

Through the blind labyrinth of life's meanders,
To guide our steps, a threed of story renders;
It is the chiefest treasure-house of wit,
A shop wherein we may but danger sit,
And our estate, as in a glass, behold,
Matching the present, with the times of old;
A wittie mistris that schools all degrees,
A two-fac'd Janus, which both ages sees,
Yet as the stories which adorns the pen,
Can not be matched with those of vertuous men,
That is the quintescence of storie,
That is the image, no, it is self glorie;
Whilst other stories singles out events,
In lively shape the antique this presents.

HENRY MAULE OF MELGUM.

PREFACE.

AS history is the theatre of man's life, whereby all may learn one common lesson by the goodly examples she represents unto their eyes, ears, and understandings, even so she invites all men to woo her: what language soever she speaks, what subject she treats of, what time she notes, and what person soever she represents; thus offering herself to all, with this excellent use, deserving justly to be imbraced. Experience verifying the testimonies which wise antiquity doth offer, that she is the mistris of mans life, the testimony of truth, the recorder of justice, the resplendent beams of virtue, the register of honour, the trumpet of fame, examiner of actions, comptroller of the times, the rendezvous of diverse events, the soul of good and evil, and the soveraigne judge of all men and all exploits. This praise is common to all histories; but, as in a general action, every man ought to have a particular care of what concerns his privat duty, so in the general history of all nations, every man is bound to be particularly informed of that which concerns himself, and instructed in the management of the estate under which he is born; by reason whereof I hold the complaint of Thucydides

(one of the chief architects of historie) very considerable, that it was a great shame for Grecians to be like strangers in Greece, when, as busying themselves in forreign histories, they were ignorant of their own; the very like may I truly say, that it is a great shame for Scots to be strangers in Scotland; for why should the ignorance of our history be more excusable in us than theirs in them, doubtless we seek for that a far off, which is near our selves at home; I cannot but commend the diligence of some of our men in searching out of forreigne histories stuff for their own; but if it be lawful for me to speak of this subject, (as one of the vulgar sort) I dare boldly say (without flattering my self with the love of my own countrey) that there is but a few nations that have better historical materials for the frameing of a goodly piece than we have, the defect (in these days of ours) being rather to be imputed to the lack of a skilful architecter and craftsman, than of stuff for building. The task then I here undertake, and which I intend in some measure to unvail with the path I mean to trace, by pointing some slender observations, scarce answerable to the dignitie and greatness of the subject (worthy in truth of a good writer) yet rather fitting for that obscure age, wherein the antient Druides had a maxim not to write at all; or of these which have left us these small abridgements, the which for want of better we are now forced to use, and, without all doubt, if that our historie had encountered such gallant spirits as the Greek and Latin did, it had been nothing inferiour to them in beauty and profit.

Our subject then being an historie of the Picts, from their first entry into North Britain, to their final extirpation, with their original manners, habits, condition of living, extent of dominion, descent and marriage of their kings, famous battles by them fought against the Romans, Britains, and Scots, together with the gigantick Saxons, in all which I will endeavour myself to use all the means possible, briefly to give my courteous reader in some measure content; and of their original I shall lay the ground stone of my building.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE PICTS.

CHAP. I.

OPINIONS TOUCHING THE ORIGINAL AND FIRST COMING OF THE PICTS TO NORTH BRITAIN.

HISTORIANS for antiquity, hath next, after the Britains, accounted the Picts, who, according to the opinion of Boethius, were a people in Germany, now called Danmark, and formerly the nearer Scythia, who betaking themselves to sea for the acquiring of a new habitation; the small limits of their ancient habitation being pestered with the multitudes of vagabonds, and not able neither to contain nor maintain them, did vomit as it were furth this swarm, who cloyed with ambition of their ancient victories, and thirsting after the glory of a new conquest, did first shew themselves to the Southern Britains, then to the inhabitants of the Hibernian coasts, (impatient of such neighbours,) were by force compelled to visit the north west parts of Albion; who, according to

the opinion of some did first settle themselves in the islands of Orcades, and finding that compass too small a bounds for their boundless ambition, did shortly thereafter encroach on the country of *Cornanani* and *Catani*, (now Cathnes and Sutherland) from whence still marching foreward, in a small time they became possessors of the neighbouring countries of Ross, Murray, Buchan, Merns, and Angus, driving from thence the nations who did live in companies together, feeding their flocks and herds in the plains, without houses, strengths, or castles; likeas now do the neighbouring Arabs of Palæstina and India.

Boethius wou'd willingly derive them from the *Agathyrsi;* Pomponius Lætus and Aventinus from the Germans, others from the Pictones in France, and Beda from the Scythians. It happened (saith he) that the nation of the Picts came in long ships, and these not many, out of Scythia, as the report goeth, unto Ireland.

Bishop Lesly, a late writer of our history, following the opinion of some others, will have the entry of the Picts in Scotland to be about the 78 year of our redemption, in the reign of Galdus king of Scots, three years before the emperor Titus, the son of Vespasian, sacked Jerusalem, and in the second year of Cletus, bishop of Rome. But anent the precise time of their arrival, I find a great difference among historians. Each of them producing a year after their own imagination, which controversie I will rather shun, than with a magnifying glass, press to read the outworn ciphers of so ancient a date, and with Cambden content myself that they have written so.

Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law Agricola, affirms the original of the Scots to be from Spain, and of the Picts from Germany.

Others again looking further back into times past, will have them to be the remainder of the ancient *Hunns*, (whereof great inundations did overwhelm all Italy,) who, expelled from their own country, and seeking new habitations, did plant their armys, then their colonies, in Britain.

I, for my part, in so great a variety of opinions, being involved into such an inextricable labryinth, scarce knowing which of them to follow, (yet that I may speak what I suppose to be true, and deliver my own judgment,) were it not that in this point the authorities of venerable Beda and learned Boethius, did overweigh the conjectures of all others, I would assuredly with Cambden think, that the Picts came from no other place at all, but were the very natural Britains themselves, even the right progeny of the most ancient Britains. Those Britains I mean, and none other, who, before the coming of the Romans, were settled in the north part of the islands, and of those who afterwards casting off the yoke of bondage, as they are a nation most impatient of servility, repaired into those of the north; likeas when the Saxons overcame the isle, those Britains which would not forgo their liberty, convoyed themselves into the western parts of the island, full of craggie hills, as Wales and Cornwel, even so, doubtless, when the Roman war grew hot, the Britains, lest they should undergo servitude, (which is of all miseries the extreamest) got them unto our northern parts, frozen with the

bitter cold in winter, full of rough and rugged passages, full of lakes, vashes, and standing meeres, where being armed, not so much with weapons, as with the sharp air and climat, they grew up with the native inhabitants, which they here found, unto a mighty and populous nation. For Tacitus reporteth, that the ruines of the Britains, were, by his wife's father Agricola, driven into this part, as it were into an other island. And no doubt, but Britains they were that inhabited the most remote parts of this island; for shall we dream that all those Britains, enemies to the Romans, which brought out thirty thousand armed men into the field against Agricola, who gave unto the emperor Severus so many overthrows, that of the Romans and associates, he lost in one expedition and journey seventy thousand, being killed every mothers son, and none left for seed nor procreation, that they might give room to foreigners out of Scythia and Cimbria; so far am I from believing of this, altho Boethius, Lesly, and Beda, have written so, by relation from others, and upon trust; that I wou'd rather affirm they were so multiplied, that the very soil was not able either to retain or receive them, and were inforc'd therefore to overflow the Roman province, as we know it came to pass when the Romans came in among them.

But because Boethius hath written, and Beda also, as others at that time reported, I may, with Cambden and Speed, be easily brought to believe that some also out of Scandia, call'd in times past Scythia, (as all the northern tract beside) came by the isles, that by a continued tract lyes between

unto our northern Britains; yet least any man should think that I imagine to countenance a fable carrying a likelyhood and probability of truth; me thinks I am able to prove that the Picts were very Britains indeed, by demeanour, name, and language, of Picts, where in the following chapter we shall see that they agree passing well with Britains.

CHAP. II.

OF THE NAME AND LANGUAGE OF THE ANCIENT PICTS.

That the custom of painting and staining themselves with colours, was common both to Britains and Picts it is most evident. As for the Britains manner of painting, Cambden, page 31, 32, and 40, hath at length set down, to whom I refer the curious reader; and as for the Picts, the poet Claudian proveth it for us, who writeth thus:

———*Nec falso nomine Pictos*
Edomuit.———

And in another place,

———*Ferroque notatas,*
Perlegit exanimes Picto *moriente figuras.*

Which Isidore doth shew more plainly; the nation of the Picts, sayes he, have a name drawn, even from their bodies, for that by the artificial

pricking therein of small holes with a needle, the work-man working out the juice of green grass, incloseth the same within, that their nobility and gentry thus spoted, may carry those stars about with them in their painted pounced limbs, as badges to be known by. Shall we think now that these Picts were Germans, who never used this manner of painting, or the Agathrysi of Thracia, so far distant from hence; the relicts of the Hunnes, or rather the very Britains themselves, seeing they were in the same isle, and retained the same fashion of painting.

Neither are these barbarous people, who so long time made such incursions out of the forrest Caledonia, and from our farthest northern coast, found the Romans work, otherwise called than Britains; of the ancient writers, Dio, Herodian, Vopiscus, and others. Tacitus, who describeth at large the wars of Agricola, his wife's father, in this uttermost coast of Britain, calleth the inhabitants by no other name than Britains, and Britains of Caledonia; whereas notwithstanding our later writers have recorded, that the Picts, new comers thither, were arriv'd here few years before; a thing I would have you to note, considering that Tacitus in that age knew not of them at all, neither would these Roman emperors who warred fortunatly against them, to wit, Commodus, Severus, with Bassianus, and Geta, his sons, assumed unto their other titles and stiles, Britannicus, after they had vanquished them, unless they had been Britains. Certes if the Romans, for whose magnificence every thing made that was strange had subdu'd any other nation be-

side the Britains, and the same before time unknown (were they called Scots or Picts) they would no doubt have been known by the titles of *Scoticus* and *Picticus*, in their coins and inscriptions.

Tacitus guesseth by their deep yellow bush of hair and their large limbs, that they had their beginning out of Germany, but streightways after, and more truely, he attributeth all to the climat and positure of the air and heaven, which yeildeth unto bodies their complexion and feature, whereunto *Vitruvius* would seem to consent; writing thus, "under the northern pole are nations bred and fostered big and tall of body, of colour broun, with hair of head even and streight, and that ruddy."

In like manner that the Caledons (without all question Britains) were the self same nation with the Picts; the panegyrick author after a sort doth shew, writing thus, the woods of the Caledons and other Picts, &c. and that these Caledonians were Britains born, the poet Martial in this verse of his implyeth:

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos.

Ausonius likewise, who sheweth withal that they were painted, while he compareth their colour with green mosse distinguish'd with gravel between in this verse:

——*Viridem distinguit glarea muscum,*
Tota Caledoniis talis est, pictura Britannis.

But as these for a long time were no otherwise

known than by the name of Britains, and that by reason of their de-painted bodies, so afterwards about the time of *Maximinian* and *Diocletian* (neither before that find we the name of Picts in any writers) when Britain had so long been a province, that the inhabitants had learned the provincial Latin tongue then as it seemeth, began they to be called Picts, for distinction sake, that they might be known from them that were confederate with the Romans, and called Britains.

And whence should they be called Picts, if it were not because they de-painted themselves. Now if any one there be that believeth not that the Britains used not the provincial Latin tongue, little knoweth he certainly, how earnestly the Romans laboured that the provinces might speak Latin, neither seeth he what a number of Latin words have crept into the ancient British language. That I may not urge the authority of Tacitus, who sayeth, that in Domitians time, the Britains affected very much the eloquence of the Latin tongue.

And as touching the name of the Picts, the authority of *Flavius Vegetius*, may soon clear this doubt, who shews us after a sort, that the Britains used the word (Pict) in the very same sense for a thing that is painted or coloured, as the Latins do. For he writeth that the Britains called these light pinaces of Espial *Pictas*, the saills, cables, and other tacklings whereof, were dyed with a blue or watched colour. Likeas the soldiers and mariners to them belonging were clad in blue apparel. Surely if the Britains called ships for their sails and tackling stained with the saye-blue colour, *Pictas*, what

letteth but they should call the people *Picti*, who were painted with sundry colours, but especially with blue, that is the colour that *Woad* giveth.

This also mattereth for us, that the northern Picts, whom St. Columban by preaching the word, and by his good example, brought unto Christianity, are in the ancient English annals named *Britain Peohctan*, as one would say *Britain Picts*.

The cause wherefore we draw not many proofs from the language is this, for that the Picts tongue, there can be scarce two words gathered out of authors, yet me thinks that it seemeth to be the same with the British. Beda wrote that the Roman wall made against the incursions of the Picts, began in a place, which in the Pictish language is called *Pennakel*, and *Penguall* amongst the Britains, expressly signifieth the beginning or head of the wall. Moreover, throughout all the tract of the island which the Picts held longest (and yet was the east part of Scotland,) the most part of the names as yet do savour of British original; as for example, *Moria*, *Maria*, for that they be countreys adjoining to the sea, coming of the British word *Moir*, that is sea, *Aberdeen*, *Aberlothnet*, *Aberdore*, *Abernethy*, *Aberbroth*, *Aberlemno*, *Aberchirdore*, &c. that is the mouth of *Done*, *Dee*, *Dore*, *Neth*, *Lemno*, *Loth*, &c. from the British word *Aber*, which signifieth the mouth of a river. As also *Strathern*, *Strathdee*, *Strathaven*, *Strathbogie*, *Strathore*, that is the dale or valleys of *Earn*, *Dee*, *Aven*, *Bogie*, *Ore*, &c. coming from the British word *strath*, which signifies a *vallie*, yea more, the royal seat of the Pictish kingdom, their head city, I mean Edin-

burgh, beareth no other name originaly but a British, which Ptolomy calleth *Castrum Alatum*, that is, the *winged castle*, for *Eden* in British is a wing. Neither will I (by way of proof) take hold of this argument, that some of the British petty kings were called *Bridii*, which is as much in the British language as de-painted; out of these premises, without any absurdity, we may verily conclude, that the Pictish language and the Britains differed not, and therefore the nations were not diverse, but one and the same.

Ammianus Marcellinus devideth the Picts into *Di Caledonians* and *Vecturiones*, I would rather read *Deucaledonians*, and do think that they were planted about the western coasts of Scotland, where the *Deucaledonian* sea breaketh in, and albeit I have been of opinion that they were so called, as if a man would say *Black Caledonians*, (for *Dee*, in the British language signifies *black*) like as the Irish now a days name the Scots inhabiting that tract *Duffe-alibawn*, that is, *Black Scots*, and likewise the Britains called the pirats and rovers which out of these parts did much hurt at sea, *Vlln du*, that is, the *Black Army*, yet now me thinks we may guess (since guesses are free) that they took that name from their situation, for *Dehcucaledonii* signifieth the Caledonians dwelling on the right hand, that is west-ward, like as the other Picts who keept on the left hand, that is east-ward, which *Ninus* calleth the left side, were named *Vecturiones*, by a word haply drawn from *Chuithic*, which in the British tongue signifieth left, and these some do think are corruptly call'd in Ptolomy *Vernicones*. I have

seen an old Saxon book which seem'd to give them the name of *Petpeorn*, for so they term an enemy nation to the Britains, whereas the ancient *Angles*, or English, call'd the Picts themselves *Pehits* and *Pheotas*, or *Pehoktas*, and hereupon it is that we read every where in *Whitkindus*, *Pehiti* for *Picti*, and this for the name and language of the ancient Picts.

CHAP. III.

THE MANNERS OF THE PICTS, WITH THEIR HABITS IN TIME OF PEACE AND WAR.

I AM of opinion with the best antiquaries who have lived in our age, that the Picts in manners and customs did little or nothing differ from the more southern Britains, wherefore I thought it not unfit to insert here some notes and observations as touching their manners and customs, collected word for word out of ancient authors.

Cæsar, the Britains (or Picts) uses for their money brazen pieces, or rings of iron duly weighed and to just poise. To taste of starr, hen, or goose, they think unlawfull, howbeit these they keep for their delight and pleasure. They wear the hair of their heads long, and shave all the parts of their body, save their heads and upper lip. Ten or twelve of them use their wives in common, and especially brethren partake with brethren, and parents with their children: but look what child-

ren they bring forth, theirs they are who first married them virgins.

In battle, for the most part they were wont to employ their chariots. First, these ride about unto all parts of the battle and sling darts, and with the very fearfull sight of horse, and with the ratteling noise of the wheels, they do most part break their ranks, and put them in disaray, and when they have once got themselves within the troops of the horsemen, they alight from their chariots and fight on foot.

Strabo makes them to be taller in stature than the Gauls, their hair not so yellow, nor their bodies so well knit and firm. For proof of their tallness, I saw my self, says he, at Rome, very youths and springals higher by half a foot than the tallest men. They have but bad feet to support them. As for all other lineaments of the body, they shewed good making and proportionable feature; for disposition and nature, they partlie resemble the Gauls, partly they be more plain, more rude, and far more barbarous, in so much, that some of them cannot make any chieses, tho' they have plenty of milk. Others again are altogether ignorant in planting of gardens and orchards, and other points of husbandry. Many lords and potentates they have amongst them. In their wars they use chariots like unto the Gauls; woods stand them instead of cities and towns, for when they have by felling of trees mumed and fenced a plot of ground, there they build for themselves huts and cottages, and for their cattel sets up stalls and folds, but these for the present use, and not to serve long.

Diodorus Siculus records of them, that they lived after the manner of those in the old world: they use chariots in fight (as the report goes of the ancient Greeks in the Trojan war,) their houses are for the most part of reid of wood. Fair condition'd they are, of plain and upright dealing, far from the craft and subtilty of our men; their food whereon they live is simple, nor no dainties like the full fare of rich men; their island is replenisht with people.

Herodian says, they know no use at all of garments, but about their belly only and neck, they wear iron, supposing that to be a most goodly ornament, and a proof of their wealth, like as all other barbarians esteem of gold. For why? their very bare bodies they mark with divers pictures, representing all manner of living creatures. Clad they will not be, forsooth for hidding their painted bodies; unskilful how to use either helmet or corslet, supposing the same to be a hinderance to them as they pass over the bogs and marish grounds. Yet they are a most warlike nation, and very greedy of slaughter, content to be arm'd with a narrow shield and spear, with a sword beside hanging down by their naked bodies.

Plinius says, they wore rings on their middle fingers, and that they do manure their ground with marle instead of dung. It is most sure, that they branded themselves, and enamled (as it were) with certain marks, which *Tertullian* termeth *Britanorum Stigmata*, that is, the Britains mark.

Solinus sheweth, that by means of artificial incessors of sundry forms, have from their childhood divers shapes of beasts incorporate upon them, and

as they come to age, and wax bigger and taller, so does the marks; neither do these savage nations of the Britains repute any thing to signify their patience, more than by such durable scars, to cause their limbs drink in much painting and colour.

Dio Nicenus, out of the epitome of *Xiphilinus*, as touching the Britains in Caledonia, seated in the north part of the island, writes that they till no ground, but lives on prey, venison, &c. Fruits, although of such there be exceeding great plenty, they will not tast. Their abode is in tents naked and unshod. Wifes they use in common, most willing they are to practise robbing. In war their service is out of chariots; the horses they have, be little and swift of pace, their footmen run most speedily, whilst they stand they be strongest. The arms they use is a shield and a short spear, in the nether part whereof hangeth a round bowel of brass like an aple, that when it is shaken the sound thereof may terrifie their enemies. They have dagers also, but principally, and which is most of all, they can endure hunger, cold, and any labour whatsomever.

For sticking fast in the bogs up to the head many days together they will live without food, and within the woods they live upon barks and roots of trees. A certain kind of meat they provide ready on all occasions, whereof if they take but the quantity of a bean, they are not wont either to be hungry or thirsty.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE PICTISH REPUBLICK AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THEIR government was monarchical, in which they made no distinction at all in the sovereignity betwixt male and female, but either of them according to the disposition of the Almighty, were admitted to the royal throne, so they were capable to govern.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that it was an usual custom amongst the northern Britains (for so he called the Picts or Britains of Caledonia,) to seek for the direction of the Gods, by looking to the inwards of beasts, and to make war under the conduct of women, neither mattereth it which sex did bear rule over them. Whereupon learned men do think that Aristotle speaketh of the northern Britains, where he writeth that certain warlick nations beyond the *Celtes*, were subject to the government of women. *Aristot. Politicorum, lib. 2. cap. 7.*

CHAP. V.

THE RELIGION OF THE PICTS.

AS for their religion, they were very much addicted to magick and divination, as Plinius writing of magick notes; *but why should I, says he, rehearse these things in an art that hath passed over the ocean*

also, so far as beyond which nothing is to be discovered but air and water. And even at this day, it is in Britain highly honoured, where the people are so wholly devoted unto it, and that with all compliment of ceremonies, as if a man would think that the Persians learned all their magick from them. This same Plinius records, that there groweth an herb in Gaul, like unto Plantin, called *Glastum*, (that is woade) with the juice of which, the women of Britain, as well their married wives as their young daughters, anoint and dye their bodies all over, resembling by that colour the Æthiopians, in which manner they use at some solemn feasts and sacrifices so to enter the temples of their Gods.

Neither will I too much insist upon their ancient religion, which is not verily to be accounted religion, but a most lamentable and confused chaos of superstitions. For when satan had drowned the true doctrin in thick mists of darkness, the ugly specters of Britain, (saith Gildas) were meer diabolical, exceeding well near in number these of Egypt, whereof some we see within or without desert walls, with deformed lineaments, carrying grim and stern looks after their wonted manner.

The South Picts, so called because they inhabited Scotland besouth the river Forth, *ad Australem Plagam Maris Scotici. Fordoun Hist. Scot. lib.* 9. were converted to Christianity by Ninianus, a most holy man, in the year of grace four hundred and fourty. But they which were in the north and north-west, who were secluded from the southern by the huge ridges of the *Ocellian* and *Grampian* mountains, were, by *Columbanus* a Scot, a monk

likewise of passing great holiness, in the year five hundred and sixtie five, who taught them, whereso-ever he learned it, to celebrat the feast of Easter, betwixt the fourteenth day of the moon in March, unto the twenty, but alwise on the Lord's day. As also to use another manner of tonsure of shaving their heads than the Romans did, to wit, represent-ing the imperfect form of a coronet; about these ceremonies hard hold there was and eager disputa-tion for a long time in this island, untill that Nec-tanus, a king of the Picts, brought his ancient subjects with much adoe to the Roman observance. In which age very many Picts with a great devo-tion (as the days were then) frequented the chapels and shrines at Rome; and amongst others, he that is mentioned amongst the antiquities of St. Peter's church, in these words, *Asterius comes Pictorum et Syra cum suis votum solvere*; that is, Asterius, a count or earl of the Picts and Syra, with their family, performed their vows.

CHAP. VI.

THE BOUNDS AND LIMITS OF THE PICTISH KINGDOM.

AS for the limits of the Pictish kingdom, they are not so streight, that one in a few words can be able to rehearse them; if we should not look upon them with the abridgers of our history, who would have them only in effect to have possessed

Provincias Illas Scociæ jacentes intra Chævioti *et* Grampii Montes.

But Boethius, out of *Veremundus* the arch-dean, setteth down the provinces of the Pictish kingdom thus; *the other provinces (says he) now held by the* Scots, *which pertained to the Picts, were* (Boethius, lib. 2. fol. 12. paragraph 1.)

Mernia,
Angusia,
Gouria,
Stermundia,
Ernevallis,
Bertha cum territorio,
Fifa,

With a great part of Caledonia, and the best of the country of the *Damni cum Castro Doloroso.*

Lothiani they wholly enjoyed, which they named the land of the Picts, with the Maiden-castle and the city thereto adjacent.

They possessed also the countries of *Deera* and *Marchia,* with all the tract of ground lying betwixt the river of Tyne, and the ancient town of *Ordoluchium,* which now contains the provinces and countries of Northumberland, a part of Cumberland, and the shiriffdom of Berwick; the inhabitants of which were anciently named *Ordoluchians.*

They did likewise inhabit and possess the country of *Atholia,* bynorth the Grampian mountains, (and by Beda and Veremundus were called *Picti Transmontani,*) by permission of the Scots, who willingly licenciat them that habitation, in respect of the

narrow limits of their ancient dominions, to the end they might the more increase and multiply in number, for the most part of both nations, Scots and Picts, were killed by the Romans at the cruel battle of *Camelon*, near the river Carron, for the wombs of the Pictish women being more fruitfull than the Scots, had this country, as it were out in a politick consideration for a place of procreation by the Scots allotted to them, being free as it were from the incursions of the Roman legions.

Neither will I for a truth affirm that which some of our ancient monkish and abbay writers have left to posterity, and would have them for a verity believe, that the Picts did likewis possess the islands *Orcades*, and in Pomona first settled their monarchy, having three kings who succeeded each other, and their reigned. The last of which, *Leutha* by name, being a mighty and valiant man, subdued the great island lying west from the *Orcades*, which did belong to the *Cornani*, and from himself nam'd it *Leuthes*, now Lewis. This same *Leutha*, say they, transported a great army in flat bottom'd boats, to the promontory of *Dumna*, where he vanquished and overthrew the ancient *Catani*, *Cornani*, and *Lugii*, possessing their countrys, and from thence expelling all the nations. *Qui seipsos in nemoribus, Montium Crepidinibus, et Colliam Fissuris, absondebant*, who for fear of the enemy had retired to hide themselves in woods, clifts of rocks, and tops of mountains. They record likewise, that he reigned sixty-seven years, dying without issue, whose death for a time made the Picts not to attempt any further against their neighbours in the continent, but to live

within their own orb, and allowed the affrighted *Cornani* to breath a little securely.

I read in an old record of the priory of St. Andrews, that the Picts not only possessed the islands *Orcades*, and the countrys heretofore spoken of, and from them Pictland firth hath the name, which to this day it doth retain the name of *Bosphorus Pictus*, but also they enjoyed these two islands lying *in sinu Maris Scotici*, in the bosom of the Scotish sea. One of which, *Ketus*, king of the Picts, did from his own name call *Kittinch*, (now *Inch-keth*) and the other after the name of his best beloved queen, *Maya Insula*, or May island.

They enjoyed also all these small islands scattered in the said gulf, from May island to the city of *Centrosse;* and this shortly, what I have found of the bounds, limits, and extent of the ancient Pictish kingdom.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE MOST MEMORABLE BATTLES FOUGHT BY THE PICTS, AND VICTORIES BY THEM OBTAINED OVER THE SOUTH BRITAINS.

LET any who so lists, peruse and cast over the histories and annals of all nations from their very first beginnings, (scarce in my opinion) amongst them all, shall he find such an handfull of people, limited within so small a portion of ground, from the verdant south to the frozen north, who have so valiantly and manfully withstood the rageing tor-

rent of so powerful ambition and cruel enemies, and that well near the space of a thousand one hundred and seventy-one years.

And first of all then, we shall see what exploits and victories worthy of memory, they have gained over the South Britains.

Ciethus, the second of that name, king of the Picts, with a mighty army of thirty thousand men, in the quarrel of *Reutha*, king of Scots, encountered *Sisitius*, king of the Britains, whom he defeated and put to rout, having kill'd above twenty-four thousand of his army. This cruel battle was fought in the country of *Ridderdale*, in the county of *Lugia*, in the year of the world three thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and before the redemption of man, one hundred and ninty.

Modredus, likewise king of the Picts, with a great army encountered Arthur king of the Britains at the mouth of the river Humber, whom after a long and bloody conflict he overthrew. Thus was the great Arthur of Britain, (famous amongst poets and ballad-makers,) kill'd with thirty thousand of his army, his best beloved queen *Guanora*, and cousin *Valuanus* taken prisoners, with a hundred more of the British nobility, and led captive to the country of *Horrestia*, where for extream grief queen Guanora died, and was nobly inter'd in *Agro* de *Meigle*. The ruins of these ancient British monuments being there at this day to be seen. This battle was fought in the year five hundred and fourty-two of our salvation, the eight year of the reign of Eugenius, king of Scots, and twenty-third of Arthur king of Britains.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE MOST MEMORABLE BATTLES FOUGHT BY THE PICTS, AND VICTORIES BY THEM OBTAINED AGAINST THE ROMANS.

AS for their victories against the tyrannical and bellicose Roman proconsuls, *prætors*, *proprætors*, *deputies*, *lieutenants*, and *legats*, they were many in number and great atchievement. A few only of the most memorable will I mention.

Conkistus, king of the Picts, much repining at the tyrrany of *Aulus Plautius*, the Roman proprætor, whom every day he not only did perceive to encroach upon his territories, but on his royal prerogative also, (a progress as intollerable as pernicious amongst great personages,) he with all expedition levies a powerful army, to whose aid as against a common enemy came also *Caractacus*, king of the Scots, with seventeen thousand well appointed men. Valiantly and ambiguously was it foughten on both sides, till the going down of the sun, which embraced the Scots and Picts with rays of victory, and wrapt the Roman legion in a confusion, being by their enemies sore pressed upon, which brought forth suddain amazement and flight; so that Plautius having lost nine thousand of his soldiers, and the rest of his army put to rout, himself likewise being sore wounded, saved his life by speedy flight. In this battle perished also *Arviragus*, king of the Britains, with seventeen thousand of his auxiliary forces.

Thara, king of the Picts, did fight a notable battle at York against the emperor Vespasian, and killed, besides many of the common sort, seven thousand of his most choice soldiers, yet for the victory obtained by him in his retreat being slackly guarded, was beset with a troop of Gaulish horse, and killed fighting valiantly.

Conkistus the II. of that name, king of the Picts, a couragious and valiant warriour, in two cruel battles, vanquished and overthrew the Roman legats, *Ostorius* and *Mantius*; the one near the city *Deera*, and the other on the confines of *Ordulusia*, with the loss of 17,000 of their followers.

Lugthacus, king of the Picts, did so fiercely encounter *Lucius Antinous*, the Roman proconsul, near the brink of the river *Tina*, whose streams with blood of slain Romans was dyed with a crimson colour; yet of 7000 veterans and 37,000 legionary soldiers, scarce retired there 700 with the leader to *Trinobantum*, to relate the news of that day's calamity.

Thetargus, king of the Picts, with an army of 23,000 men, in defence of *Carantius*, king of the Britains, with such force and valour so on beset the Roman army, conducted by the legat *Bassianus*, and the prætor *Hircius*; yet of 40,000 scarce did there one thousand escape, either killed or taken prisoners. This battle was foughten in the province of *West-Maria*, in the fourteen year of the reign of *Thetargus*, king of the Picts.

Drustus, king of the Picts, having received diverse injuries from the Roman general *Victorinus*, with which he could hardly sit at rest, levies with all

possible diligence, a great and powerful army of fourty thousand men, to whose aid comes Fergus the II. of that name, king of Scots, with twelve thousand men to the river Carron, where they gave *Victorinus* a very hot salutation; for the space of fourteen hours was it most couragiously foughten on both sides, till the night approached, with such a great deludge of rain, (the like in Albion not being seen) did with such a flood impetuously carry the slain bodies to the river, whose then purling streams did blush for sorrow, the loss being so great on both sides, that the armies were forced each to retire to their camp. The Romans lost that day well near (as historians make account) sixty thousand, with their leader *Victorinus* born away sore wounded, and *Drustus* thirteen thousand. Fergus, king of Scots, received such a mortal wound in the head, that not long after he died of the same; although Boethius and Fordun will have him to convalesce and live two years after this conflict, which I do not verily believe, in respect neither *Turgot* nor yet *Veremonde* hath recorded it, who lived some hundreds of years before the other two.

CHAP. IX.

VICTORIES BY THE PICTS OBTAINED AGAINST THE SAXONS.

THESE Pictish trophies brought on the destruction of the great and powerful armies of the bloody

and gigantick Saxons; as they were great, so were they much more to be wondered at. For *Aurelius Ambrosius*, king of the Britains, overwhelmed almost with these great inundations of Saxons, led by *Hengist* their king, demands aid against the common enemy, from the Scotish and Pictish kings, whom he thought to be the most impregnable ramparts and ablest bulwarks to withstand the raging torrent of a cruel and barbarous people; to whose succour in person goes *Lothus*, king of the Picts, with an army of twenty-two thousand, and *Coranus* with ten thousand Scots. The rencounter of the three great armies was at *Mahesbe* (*Mahes Belluna*, the place so named from their conflict with the Saxons); for a long space was it with much valour, and no less blood foughten, till that *Hengist* perceiving the rear of the Scots and Picts to inviron him, makes haste to renew the battle on *Aurelius* side, but all in vain, for at the first encounter *Hengist* himself having his horse killed under him, and not able to recover himself, was forthwith strucken dead, *et sic fuit Regis* Hengisti *cadaver inter hostes ad Lutdibrium expositum*, says Veremunde. *Veremund Hist. Scot. lib.* 2. *page* 16. The arch-dean *Oura*, his brother, with the ruines of the Saxon army, fled to the mountains. This great victory thereafter did move the Britains more to commiserate than to fear, all those of the Saxon race able to bear arms being exiled the island, *Reliqui* (says *Guildas*, *Hist. fol.* 120,) *ad servitutem redacti*, the Scots and Picts valiant service in this memorable victory, was nobly rewarded by the British king *Aurelius*, for by and attour a league offensive and defensive concluded

with both nations, he gave his eldest daughter *Anna* in marriage to Lothus king of the Picts, and his second, *Ada*, to *Coranus* general of the Scots, who attained the crown after the death of *Congallus*, and was the 45th Scotish king.

Lothus, king of the Picts, arms himself against *Occa*, the son of *Oistus*, king of the Saxons, who with fire and sword had invaded the Northumbrians without mercy, neither sparing sex nor age, overruning all that country, even to the walls of the city *Deera*, whom he rencounters on the brink of the river *Tweda*, with thirty-four thousand choice men; betwixt both armies was it couragiously foughten, the Picts being sore prest by their enemies till Lothus by his expectation perceiv'd the Saxon van-guard to give ground by little, and then in sudden with their leader *Colgernus* to fly, did so force them, by main strength, to take the river, where they were for the most part all drowned. Occa seeing his general to fly, and then to be quite put to the rout and slaughter, betakes himself with all the speed he could to the mountains: notable was this victory king Lothus did obtain of the Saxons, in which was then above fourteen thousand of them killed; for these whom the tops of the *Cæviothian* mountains did not shelter, were all either by dint of sword or rage of the river dispatched and made away.

Hungus, king of the Picts, with thirty thousand men, to repress the ambition of *Athelstein*, king of the east Saxons, who in hopes to enlarge the limits of his dominions, had encroached on the countries of the *Derians*, being a part of the Pictish monarchy,

whom he overthrew, with his whole army, in Lothian, the place of battle to this day retaining the name of *Athelstains-Ford*, (vulgarily *Arlstain-Ford*,) some two miles from *Haddingtoun*; diverse of our historians attribute this victory rather to the valour of king *Achaius* with his ten thousand Scots, than to *Hungus* king of the Picts; which contraversy among them is not much worth the standing on; only let me say this much, that this was the battle most worthy of fame and memory that ever was fought by the Scots and Picts against any foreigner or stranger, in respect that the noble and honourable order of knighthood nam'd of St. Andrew and the Thistle, had its original at this time; and these shortly are the most memorable rencounters of the Picts against the Saxons, which fame and antiquitie hath recommended to posterity.

CHAP. X.

BATTLES FOUGHTEN BY THE PICTS, AND VICTORIES BY THEM OBTAINED AGAINST THE SCOTS.

BRUDE, king of the Picts, taking it highly to heart that Alpin, king of Scots, with two thousand men, should have invaded *Louthian*, exercising all cruelty on the inhabitants, neither sparing sex nor age; in the preceding year levies a great army, crosses the river Tay, near the castle of Caledonia, and marches with all the speed he could to the countrey of *Horrestia*, where he encamps on the

side of a hill some thirteen or fourteen furlongs from the town of *Alectum*, where he is met by king Alpin with twenty three thousand Scots. With much blood was it foughten for many hours together, till Alpin with great force giving a fresh charge on his enemies, was unfortunately taken; the Scots no sooner seeing their king taken, but they betake themselves to the mountains, so that the Picts that day remained victors, who take their prisoner king Alpin and beheaded him, leaving the body behind them, and carrying the head to their city of *Camelon*, where in derision they affixed it aloft on a pole, in the middle of their city. The chief cause of that great victory obtained by the Picts that day was attributed to a stratagem us'd by king Brude, who, when he had done his uttermost with his army, made a great multitude of women and boys that follow'd his camp, come from the top of the adjoining mountains, with hideous vociferations and outcrys, doun to the battle, which made the overwearied Scots believe that they were fresh supplyes come to their enemies aid; which stratagem and policy us'd by Brude, gain'd him the victory, and the Scots the greatest overthrow that ever they did receive from the Picts.

Another cause of much bloodshed did arise, which did prove very hurtful both to Picts and Scots, for in the preceding year, at a match-hunting in the forrest of Caledonia; after some disdainful words given by a Pictish gentleman to a Scot, they fell by the ears together so roundly, that in a very short space there was above a hundred Picts killed, and about half as many Scots, which bred

such a rancour in the Pictish stomachs, that again it dilated the old sores, which scarcely above a twelve months space had been tyed up; so that *Nectanus*, king of the Picts, having his breast full charged with indignation, meditates revenge; for the execution thereof, he levies a mighty and strong army of the valiantest and most expert wariours in all his dominions with all diligence: marching to the fronteirs of Caledonia, where he is welcom'd by *Angusianus*, king of Scots, with seventeen thousand well arm'd with bows and arrows, darts, launces, and swords; the battle on both sides was for many hours continued with great fury, till King *Angusianus* seeing his rear able to be brought under, leaps from his horse, taking a sword in his hand, and couragiously restores the battle, till over-wearying, and almost fainting under so many lethal wounds, was forced in so great a press to give place to destiny, and so expired; the Scots betaking themselves to the mountains, and in their retreat being withstood by a wing of the Pictish army, commanded by the king himself, so confusedly did on beset them, and with such despair so laid about them, in killing all who withstood them, every mother's son; King *Nectanus* himself not being able to withstand their fury, was there left gasping on the ground, being run through with a lance. This victory, altho' gained by the Picts was notwithstanding little pleasant to them, in respect of the death of their king.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE PICTISH KINGDOM, AND THE INCORPORATION THEREOF TO THE SCOTS.

EMPIRES and monarchies, like all other sublunary things, are subject to alteration and change, neither can they more than the gourd of *Jonas*, escape their predestinate ruines and fatal subversions.

Whensoever God will punish a people or nation for their iniquities, he will first touch them as it were with a palpable and Egyptian darkness, so that they cannot be able to perceive the vials of his wrath which are ready to be poured upon them; *Quos perdere vult Jupiter eos dementat*; so the cup of this people being at the brim, begins to precipitate themselves in a domestick war; God making it the means of their utter destruction and extermination out of this island.

Brude, therefore, the last king except one of the Picts, having received two great overthrows of the Scots, in the last of which he himself was killed, had for successour in the Pictish throne *Drusken*, a subtile and cruel fox, seeing daily the strength and glory of the Pictish monarchy to decay, resolves rather to commit all to the hazard of one battle, than to let it dye and perish of such a lingering disease; for in pleurisies and rotten feavers, physicians for remedy often times prescribe the opening of a vein, which maxim in a wise man's eyes might have appeared fatal, as indeed the event

proved, for *Druskein* in such fervency and heat of choler, having brought to the field all of both sex under the Pictish monarchy able to bear arms, was rencountered by Kenneth, the son of Alpin, king of the Scots, with a mighty and well ordered army, which being divided into three battles, and a battle of succours, (as the manner of marishalling then was) were conducted by three brave and valiant commanders, such as heretofore many ages had neither seen nor tryed the like; the right wing, or first battle, was commanded by *Barr*, a noble and couragious captain; the left, or second battle, was commanded by *Dungal*, and the main by *Donald*, the king's brother german; the battle of succours consisting of horsemen, was a part conducted by the king himself, to be ready on all occasions to relieve all such as should be distressed. The harangue King Kenneth used to his soldiers, out of an old fragment, I thought good for the antick style thereof, to set down in my monkish author's own words; *Commilitiones utrum* Scoti Pictus, *an* Picti Scotis *leges daturi sint, hodiernus ostendet dies. Victoriæ autem præmium* Pictorum *totiés petitum regnum, perenne decus, et in hostes, Imperium, erit; contra fugæ, supplicia, Pariæa casus Infælix, vitæ Interitus, dedecus, et Ignominia, ad posteritatem relinquendum est: Hostes igitur aggredimini, et vos de patria vere natos Ostendite.*

No sooner was this speech uttered, but in continent the Scots make the onset, and for a long time was it fought with great fury and heat, till the Scots horse, who were led by the king, gave such a terrible onset on the main battle of the Picts, so

confounding their ranks, that they were never able to put themselves in order again. At this rencounter was *Druskein*, king of the Picts, killed, his whole army either killed or put to rout, and the great monarchy of the Picts brought to its last period; seven several onsets did the Scots make on the Picts this day, that of fourty-four thousand, scarce was there one mother's child left.

After which victory, Kenneth, to make a final end of this war, enters with fire and sword the countries of *Horrestia*, *Othilinia*, *Vuomagia*, and *Pictlandia*, *&c.* neither sparing sex nor age, so long as any bearing the name of a Pict could be found. This great subversion of the Picts was at *Restenot*, in the country of *Horrestia*. The battle thus ended, King Kenneth causes take the arms of King *Druskein*, with his other ornaments, and consecrats them to St. Columban's church in *Jona*, there for ever to remain to posterity, as publick trophies of so great a victory.

After this King Kenneth marches to *Camelon*, which, after three days siege, he takes, and so through the countries of *Pictlandia*, *Deera*, and *Ordoluvia*, all which he incorporates under the name of the Scotish kingdom; changes the ancient names of provinces, makes rigorous laws for the extirpation of the Pictish name, blood, alliers, and government, of whom to this day there is little or no more left.

Now in this bloody battle were the valiant Picts altogether defeat and slain, their name with themselves being razed from the face of this island about the seven hundred and fourty year of man's re-

demption, and by little and little made so to evanish under the Scots name and nation, which very thing chanced to the puissant nation of the Gauls, who being subdued of the Franks by little and little, likewise were turned to their names, and with them called *Franci*, that is French.

CHAP. XII.

EPILOGUE, WHICH SERVETH AS A SEAL TO THIS DISCOURSE, AND ADDITION TO THE SECOND CHAPTER.

WHEREAS the panegyrick author giveth some inkling that the Britains, before Cæsar's time, used to skirmish with their enemies the Picts and Scots, half naked men; he seemeth to speak after the manner of the time wherein he lived, but surely in those days there were none known in Britain by the name of Picts, notwithstanding of all that poetical panegyrick used by *Sydonius Appollinaris*, to his wife's father.

Victricia Cæsar.

Signa, Caledonias, *transvexit adusq*, Brittanos,
Fuderit et quanqam Scotum, *cum* Saxone Pictum.

Neither can I choise but with another poet to cry out in this wise:

——*Sit nulla fides augentibus omnia musis.*

Those poets loves to over-reach,
Believe them not, when they so teach.

For Cæsar, who is very often too prodigal in his own praise, would never have concealed those exploits, if he had ever performed them; but these men seem not unlike to those honest writers in our age, who, while they patch together any history of Cæsar, write (forsooth) how he had subdued the Franks in Gaul, and Englishmen in Britain; whereas in those days, the names of English and French were not so much as heard of, either in the one or other country, as who in many ages after came into these regions.

CHAP. XIII.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PICTISH KINGS ACCORDING TO SCOTS HISTORIANS.

1. *Cruthenus Camelonius*, the first Pictish king, who built the city of *Camelon*, after his own name, on the brink of the river Carron; he built likewise the town of *Agneda*, in Pictland.

2. *Crinus* was the second Pictish king, in whose reign the office of great justiciar, with the justiciaries, ayeirs, and courts, were first institute and established by *Mainus*, king of Scots.

3. *Thaara*, by some named *Thara*, the third Pictish king, did reign and live in the time of *Dornadilla*, king of Scots.

4. *Ketus*, the fourth Pictish king, whose queen was *Maia*, that beautiful British lady.

5. *Cicthus*, the fifth Pictish king, did give his daughter in marriage to *Reuther*, king of Scots. This king *Cicthus* was slain by the Scots in battle, at the city of Beregonium.

6. *Cicthus*, second of that name, and sixth king of the Picts, together with *Reutherus*, king of the Scots, fought that noble battle of *Midderdale*, against *Sistitius*, king of the Britains.

7. *Cicthus*, third of that name, and seventh king of the Picts, gave his only daughter, a beautiful virgin, *Siiora*, in marriage to *Evenus*, king of the Scots.

8. *Cianus*, the eight Pictish king, was taken prisoner by the emperor *Claudius*, in the *Orcades islands*, whom he led as captive through Rome in his triumph.

9. *Conkistus*, the ninth Pictish king, reigned in the time of *Caractacus*, king of the Scots.

10. *Mythara* fought many notable battles against the emperor Vespasian, and *Aulus Plautius* the Roman pro-consul, and was the tenth Pictish king.

11. *Thara*, the eleventh Pictish king, was slain in battle at York, by the Romans, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Caractacus*, king of the Scots.

12 *Conkistus*, the second of that name, and twelfth king of the Picts, in two several battles vanquished the Roman generals *Ostorius* the consul, and *Manlius Valenus* the prætor

13. *Karanathus*, or (as some name him) *Karantius*, the thirteenth Pictish king, gave many defeats to the Roman army conducted by *Julius Agricola*. He built the town of *Alectum* in *Horrestia*.

14. *Granardus*, the fourteenth Pictish king, overthrew the Roman army commanded by *Lucius Antinous* the legate. He reigned in the time of *Galdus*, king of the Scots.

15. *Phiatus Albus*, the fifteenth Pictish king, reigned in the time of *Lugthacus*, king of the Scots.

16. *Thelargus*, the sixteenth Pictish king, overthrew in battle *Crathelinthus*, king of the Scots.

17. *Nectanus*, the seventeenth Pictish king, with the most part of his army, and *Angusianus*, king of Scots, were both killed in a battle fought betwixt them in the confines of the Caledonian forrest.

18. *Nectanus*, the second of that name, and the eighteenth Pictish king, departed this life a youth, in the town of *Celurea*, in *Horrestia*.

19. *Hiergustus*, the nineteenth Pictish king, overthrew the Scots king *Fethelnachus*, in a battle fought at the brink of the river *Eska*, in *Horrestia*.

20. *Hungus*, the twentieth Pictish king, concluded a peace with the Roman deputie *Maximus*, to the end he might the more freely without fear war against *Eugenius*, king of Scots; but he seeing matters not to frame with him according to his mind, he hanged himself in a rope the eleventh year of his reign.

21. *Drustus*, the second son of king *Hungus*, succeeded his fatal father, and was the twenty-first Pictish king; he reigned in the time of *Fergus*, the second of that name, king of Scots.

22. *Drustus Secundus* succeeded his father, and was the twenty-second Pictish king.

23. *Drustus Tertius*, the twenty-third Pictish king, vanquished the Roman legions led by the legat *Placidus*, in three noble battles fought in the country of *West-Maria*. He reigned in the time of King Fergus the II. of Scotland.

24. *Galanus*, the twenty-fourth Pictish king, vanquished the Britains, with their commander *Guitellio*. He reigned in the time of *Congall*, king of Scots.

25. *Lothus*, the twenty-fifth Pictish king, did

assist *Aurelius Ambrosius*, the king of the Britains, against the Saxons led by *Hengist* their king, whom in two several great and dreadful battles they defeat. He married *Anna*, eldest daughter to *Aurelius Ambrosius*, king of the Britains.

26. *Modredus*, the son of *Lothus*, was the twenty-sixth Pictish king. He reigned in the time of *Eugenius*, the third king of that name in Scotland.

27. *Brudeus*, the nephew of king *Lothus*, by his brother *Melothen*, succeeded his cousin *Modredus*, and was the twenty-seventh Pictish king. He reigned in the time of *Convallus*, the fourty-seventh Scotish king.

28. *Garnardus Secundus*, the twenty-eight Pictish king, gave his daughter *Spontana* in marriage to *Eugenius*, the seventh of that name, king of Scots.

29. *Hungus Secundus*, the twenty-ninth Pictish king, with the help of *Achaius*, king of Scots, overthrew, in a great and famous battle, the east Saxon king *Athelstein*, on the valley of the river *Tyne*, near the town of *Haddina*, in Pictland. This king *Hungus* was the first that ever did adorn the ensign's with the cross of the apostle St. Andrew; and by some of our old monkish writers, is thought to have established, in memory of that notable victory, the noble and famous order call'd of St. Andrew and the Thistle.

30. *Doster Lorgus* succeeded his brother *Hungus*, and was the thirtieth king of the Picts.

31. *Eganus*, the son of *Hungus*, succeeded his uncle *Doster Lorgus*, and was the thirty-first king of the Picts.

32. *Feredethus*, after the death of king *Eganus*, violently intruded himself on the royal throne, over the necks of most of the Pictish nobility, and was the thirty-second Pictish king. He was killed in battle by *Alpin*, king of the Scots, in the country of *Horrestia*, and was interr'd in *Agro forfariensi*.

33. *Brudus*, the son of the usurper *Feredethus*, was a very valiant warriour, but, to his own, cruel and inhumane. Overthrew the Scots in a terrible battle fought near the town of *Alectum*, in the country of *Horrestia* at a place then nam'd *Pas-Alpine*, *(id est mors Alpini)* now *Pit-Alpie*, in which battle he took king *Alpin* prisoner, and then presently caused chop off his head from his body, carrying it to the town of *Camelon*, where, in a triumphing manner, he affixed it on a pole in the middle of the city.

34. *Druskinus*, brother-german to *Brudus*, whom he succeeded in the Pictish monarchy, and was the thirty-fourth king, and the last of the Picts that ever reigned in Albion; he being killed in battle, his people were in five several conflicts killed every mother's son, by Kenneth the son of Alpin, king of the Scots, and their monarchy incorporated into that of the Scots, under which name to this day it remains.

CHAP. XIV.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PICTISH KINGS, WITH THE YEARS OF THEIR REIGNS, OUT OF TWO ANCIENT RECORDS OF THE PRIORIES OF LOCHLEVEN AND ST. ANDREWS.*

This following catalogue, which for the reader's satisfaction, I here exhibit to the world, in my judgment was more meet to be smother'd in the ruins of these cloysters from whence it came, than to be set abroad to contradict so many famous authors; but, unpolish'd and uninstructed as these old ignorants have left it, you may here behold, and according to its merit let it have its entertainment.

		REGNAVIT ANNOS.
1.	*Crentheminache-cryme*	50
2.	*Geder*	130
3.	*Ebram*	100
4.	*Duchyffa*	20
5.	*Dougell*	20
6.	*Deckochie*	40
7.	*Carmach-Oriche*	20
8.	*Garnard*	9
9.	*Viponochie*	30
10.	*Canacutinel*	6
11.	*Deuortenache*	1
12.	*Ferdinache*	1
13.	*Garnard II.*	40
14.	*Catargrange*	25

* This catalogue appears to be the same as that in Winton's Chronicle.

15. *Druste Heyrbsone, de quo scriptum est. Centum Annos vixit, et centum bella peregit.*
16. *Golarge-Mack Channenaill* 10
17. *Kellamot* 30
18. *Drust Corintichaer* 15
19. *Drust Gaynoin* 6
20. *Hodrenne* 8
21. *Drustus Quartus* 4
22. *Gormack Signorum* 6
23. *Gagalaid* 5
24. *Kylournam* 6
25. *Drust Mackmoricky* 5
26. *Brude qui a Sancto Columbana fuit Baptizatus in Anno a partu Beatæ Virginis* 165 *Regnavit Annos* 9
27. *Garmack*
28. *Trynel Macklechen* 20
29. *Nectan* 20
30. *Brude Holarge* 20
31. *Golargum* 20
32. *Gormach McDonald*
33. *Druste Frater Gormaci, sub cujus regno floruit Sanctus Servanus Abbas*
34. *Nectanus Drusti Frater*
35. *Gormack Mackferchard*
36. *Fergus Ferguson*
37. *Alpin Mack Mategus*
38. *Druste Mack Tallargam*
39. *Talargam*
40. *Nectan qui fundavit Rossemarkym in Anno Salv.* 600
41. *Evan*
42. *Marchit*

43. *Evanus II.* 2
44. *Talarge* 5
45. *Constantinus filius Fergusii qui Fundavit Dunkelden et Regnavit Annos* 40
46. *Hungus qui debellavit Regem*, Athelstain, *Orcentalium* Saxonum, *et Fundavit Fanum Reguli, Regnavit Annos* 10
47. *Drustalarge* 4
48. *Egoachnen* 30
49. *Feredeth* 30
50. *Ferechat Filius Bodot, Strelinius Bellator et Nobilis Miles Regnavit Annos* 3, *et* 17 *dies.*
51. *Kenneth Mackfedereth* 1
52. *Brude Mackfechell* 2
53. *Drusterstone*, or rather as I do conjecture, *Druskein*, the last Pictish king in Albion, killed by Kenneth king of the Scots, in a fight near Scoon, after having reigned three years and seven days.

PRÆFECTI *a* ROMANIS *in* ALBIONEM *contra* PICTOS *et* SCOTOS *missi hi centuri.*

1. *Aulius Plautius*
2. *Ostorious Scapula, (qui male a Fordonio Asterius dicitur) Collega Sabellii Rufi ut videri est in institutionibus*, Justiniani, lib. 3.
3. *Didius Gallus*
4. *Verantius*

5. *Suetonius Paulinus*
6. *Petronius Turpilianus*
7. *Trebellius Maximus*
8. *Vectius Bolanus cujus frequens est mentio apud Satium in Sylvis*
9. *Petilius Cerealis*
10. *Julius Frontinus*
11. *Julius Agricola*
12. *Didius Nascia sub Claudio Imperatore*

This roll of the Roman commanders against the Picts and Scots, I have collected out of diverse authors, but especially from the Roman histories of Tacitus, Livius, Herodian, Plutarch, Appion, and Suetonius, which will serve for understanding diverse passages in this history.

THE KEY OF THIS HISTORY.

A.

Agathyrsi, a rich people, bordering upon the Scythians, and anciently taken for the inhabitants (by some historians) of Denmark and Scandia.

Agneda, the capital city of the kingdom now named Edinburgh, and by Ptolomy *Castrum Alatum*, by the Britains *Eden*, which signifies a wing. It was founded by *Cruthenus Camelonius*, the first Pictish king.

Albion, the ancient name of Scotland, as many conjecture, so named, *ab Albis Montibus*, from the

high Grampian mountains, whose tops to the seaman seem covered with snow; or, as Boethius will have it, *ab Albis Rupibus*, from the white craigs and rocks.

Alectum Oppidum, now the town of Dundee, in Angus, within the sheriffdom of Forfar, by the Scots Highlanders named *Dun-Tay*, that is, a hill near the river Tay.

Athelstains-Foord, a passage or ford of the river Tyne, in *Louthian*, near the town of *Haddingtoun*, where Hungus did behold Athelstain, king of the east Saxons to pass the river, a little before he gave him battle, and there overthrew his whole army, and killed himself.

B.

Beregonium, or *Reregonium*, a strong castle in Lochaber, built by King Fergus the I. in prospect of the islands *Hybrides*, or *Ebudæ*, the usual dwelling of the ancient Scotish kings, the vestige of its ruins being scarcely discernable at this day.

Bosphorus Pictus, now called Pictland firth, and by the vulgar Pentland firth.

C.

Caledonia anciently comprehended the countries of Strathearn, Argyle, Cantyre, Broadalbine, Athol, and Perth; it was some times taken *Synecdochice* for all Scotland, as in that of Ovid.——Caledonio *velat* Brittania *monstro*. And after the same manner by Buchanan likewise, Nympha *Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter orœ*.

Missa per Innumeros, &c.

Caledonia Sylva was a great wood that run alongst the faces of those hills of Caledonia. It divided the Scots and Picts, and being well furnished with wild game, especially with fierce white bulls and kine, it was the place of both their huntings, and of their greatest controversies. Some say it took its name from *Calden*, which signifieth an *hasel*, or common nut-tree. The Roman historians delight much to talk of the furious white bulls which the forest of Caledonia brought forth.

Caledones et Caledonii, the people of the Picts and Scots that inhabited the east and west side of that forest.

Caledonium, or *Caledoniorum Oppidum*, Dunkell, or Dunkelden, in Perthshire, a little town and bishop seat upon the north side of Tay, ten miles above St. Johnstoun.

Camelodunum Oppidum, seated on the brink of the river Carron, a great city and head town of the Pictish kingdom, built by *Cruthenus Camelonus*, the first Pictish king, and named after himself. It was seated in the country of the *Damnii*, now *Streveling* shire.

Carron Fluvius, the river on which the great town of *Camelon* was seated. It riseth out of the hills of Campsie, and running east, falls into the firth of Forth, in the Carse of Bath-Kennor.

Castrum Alatum, now Urquhart castle in Murray.

Castrum Dolorosum, by Ptolomy so named, and seated by him in the country of the *Damnii*, now called *Streveling* castle.

Celtæ, a people in France, that, in Cæsar the perpetual dictator's time, were divided from the

Belgians by the river *Seine*, and from the *Aquitanians* by the Garron. They were the ancient Gauls, and before that possessed the middle regions of France, from the British sea to the Mediterranean. They were so numerous, that they spread their colonies over a great part of Italy, Spain, Germany, Britain, the Alps, Thessalie, and into Asia itself. Of them there were many nations, and from them all the north-west part of Europe was called by the old Grecians *Celto-Scythia*.

Chæviot Montes, or that great ridge of high hills lying in length from the mouth of the river *Soluay*, in the west of the river *Æn*, and town of Anwick in Northumberland; they divided the countries of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in England, from the sheriffdom of Roxburgh and Tiviotdale, in Scotland.

D.

Deera, the county of Northumberland, lying betwixt the rivers Tyne and Tweed.

Deucaledonii, these Caledonians, or Picts, that dwelt in the west countries of North Britain, from the British word *Deheu*, which signifies west.

Druides, or *Druids*, they were the ancient heathen priests, and judges in France and Britain; and because they for the most part, did all those offices under oak trees, from them they received that name. For so oaks are called in the Greek and old *Celto-Scythick* language.

Dumnæ Promontorium, now named Dungsbey-head, or Duncansbayhead, in Cathness, a great rock running from the continent and firmland of

Cathness, in the northern sea, over against the islands of Orkney.

E.

Edinburgum, et Edinum, the town of Edinburgh, in Mid-Lothian, lying near Forth. It is the chief city of Scotland, where all the great meetings are, and their chief courts of justice conveen.

F.

Fifa, the countrey of Fife. It lyeth betwixt the firth of Forth and Tay, being all encompassed with the sea, except where it joins with the Ochils, and is in form of a peninsula, and therefore was called in the ancient language *Ross*.

Fortha, the river of Forth. It riseth in the Grampian hills above Stirling, and having made diverse windings above and below that town, it enlargeth itself into a vast loch below Alloway, called the Firth, and so keepeth its course betwixt the fertile lands of Fife and Lothian, until it enter at St. Abb's-head, in the German ocean.

G.

Grampius, the mountain of *Granzeben*, commonly called the Grampian hills. They run from Aberdeen in the north, to Dumbarton in the west; and contain the braes of the Mearns, Angus, Perthshire, and the Lenox, and diverse countreys beside.

H.

Haddino Oppidum, the town of *Haddingtoun*, and

the head burgh of Easter Lothian, seated hard by the river Tyne, twelve miles be-east Edinburgh.

Hengistus Saxo, Hengist the Saxon, one of the princes of Low-Saxony, that exercised piracy upon the coast of Britain. He was called in by the Britains, to assist them for pay, against the Scots and Picts. After they were beat back to the Roman wall, he and his Saxons pict a quarrel with their hirers, and not being able by force, by treachery, under treaty, murdered the whole nobility of the Britains; and did subdue or expel the rest out of all the plain countrey, and possessed himself and his Saxons thereof; which gave first beginning to the English kingdom in Britain.

Horrestia, a part of the Pictish kingdom, now named Angus, the inhabitants whereof were nam'd *Horrestii*.

Humber, the name of a river in England, being one of the greatest in it, by old geographers called *Abios*.

I.

Iona Insula, an island lying in the Deucaledonian sea, now call'd Icolm-kill; it is two miles long and one over, and lyeth within two miles of the south end of Mull. It was in old times beautified with diverse monasteries, churches, and chapels. One of the monasteries, with a little town belonging to it, was called *Sodora*, which gave the see and the title to the bishop of the Isles; both before and after, he, with the Scots, were expelled the Isle of Man. It hath the burial-place of many Scots, some Irish, and Norwegian kings; and was

the mother and nurse of all the monks that frequented Scotland, Pictland, and Ireland; wherefore, some writers that were strangers, do not stick to call it some times an Irish isle; and others take it to be an island that belonged to the Picts.

K.

Ketha, Inch-Keth, that lyeth mid-firth almost betwixt Leith and Kinghorn; it is rocky, and hath a fresh water spring thereon.

L.

Lothus, the name of the twenty-fifth king of the Picts, who as some authors assert, gave his name to Lothian, comprehending the sheriffdoms of east, mid, and west Lothian.

Lugia, the county of Durham.

M.

Mare Scoticum, the Scots sea, now called the Firth, and is that great inlet of the ocean dividing Fife from Lothian, and swallowing up the chrystalline streams of the *Snakie Forth*. It is usually in old evidences called *Mare Scoticum*.

Marcia, the countrey of the *Mers*, or *March*, commonly called the sheriffdom of Berwick. It hath to the east the Scots sea; to the south, the river of Tweed, which divideth it from England. To the west, Tweed and Lidder, which march it from Teviotdale and Lauderdale; and *Lamor-moor* divideth it, together with the *Den-burn* that water *Dunglass*, from Lothian, to the north.

Marciani, the March-men; they were of old a

warlike people, but now are much decayed as to their old families.

N.

Narnus, the river Nairn, that riseth out of the hills that divide *Glen-tarf* from *Strath-herin*, and dividing *Strath-narne*; it keepeth its course north-east, until it fall into the same bay. It maketh no safe harbour, and when the water is fallen, there is to be seen the ruins of an old castle, which some judge to be *Castrum Alatum*, for its situation agreeth best with the account of Ptolomy.

O.

Ordolucium Oppidum, now called Berwick.

Ordolucæ, the inhabitants of *Mers* and *Tiviotdale*, by Ptolomy thought to be a part of the *Gadeni*.

Othilinia, the ancient name of Fife shire.

Othilinii, the inhabitants of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmanan shires.

Ocelli Montes are that great ridge of high green mountains from the east corner of Fife, stretching along the countries of Fife, Stratherne, till the Doun of Monteith westward, or as other limits them, from the Bishop's Ferry and Tents Moor in the east, to *Streveling* bridge on the west.

P.

Pictlandia, now taken strictly for the sheriffdoms of easter, middle, and wester Lothian only.

Pictlandi Montes, Pictland hills in Lothian, near Edinburgh.

Picti Trunamontani were these Picts which inhabit Athole, and by the Scots were so named.

Pas Alpine (i. e. *Mors Alpini*) the place in Angus shire, where Bride, king of the Picts, beheaded Alpin, king of the Scots, some miles from Dundee, now vulgarly called *Pittalpey*.

Puellarum Castrum, the castle of Edinburgh, so named the Maiden castle, because the Pictish virgins of the blood were there closely kept.

R

Restenotum, or *Restennot*, a priory standing a mile to the east of Forfar, in Angus, encompassed round with a loch, except at one passage, where it had a deep grauff and a draw-bridge; it belonged to the monks of *Jedworth*, who here kept all their papers and other precious stuff; from which it received the name *Res Tenens*.

S.

Sinus Scoticus, (*Vide Mare Scoticum*,) it is also called *Æstuarium Forthæ*.

Stormondia, the country of Stormont, lying betwixt Gowry on the south, Athol on the north, and Angus on the east, now within the sheriffdom of Perth. It anciently belonged to the Picts, and was inhabited by the *Horestii*.

Scandia is that vast country that is extended like a peninsula, betwixt the Baltick or Swedish seas, and the north ocean. It containeth Noroway, Sweden, and some other provinces; and the inhabitants are *Scandiani*, the *Norts*, *Sweeds*, *Lapps*, and *Danes*.

Scythia, the place from which the Picts came; authors suppose to be the *Chersonese Cimbrica*, that promontory that is now called *Iuteland*, in Germany, and the islands in the Baltick and Scandia, which contain the kingdoms of Denmark, Swain, and Norroway.

T.

Trinobantum Oppidum, by Ptolomy so named, the inhabitants whereof were named *Trinobantes:* it contains the countries of Middlesex and Surrey, with some more which Cambden will show you: it was a colony of the Romans, and by them called *Augusta*, now it is named London, or *Luddom*, nay, rather *Ludestone*, from their first founder King Lude, as some writers will have it, as Ayton in his funeral elegy, that famous doctor.

Luddi dictos de nomine Cives.

THE END.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE PICTS,

EXTRACTED FROM

SIR ROBERT SIBBALD'S ACCOUNT

OF

Fife and Kinross.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE PICTS.

CHAP. I.

ORIGIN OF THE PICTS, SHEWING WHAT SORT OF PEOPLE THEY WERE, AND FROM WHAT COUNTRY THEY CAME.

JULIUS CÆSAR, in his commentary de bello Gallico, lib. 5. hath these words, "The inhabitants of the inland parts of Britain say, that it has been delivered down to them by tradition, that they are the indigenous natives of the island;" which sheweth that they were such ancient possessors of the inner part of the country, that they thought themselves *Aborigines*. And Diodorus Siculus, in his Bibliotheca, is of the same opinion; and the panegyrist *Eumenius*, in his panegyric on Constantine Cæsar, where he preferreth the actions of Constantine in Britain to the exploits of Julius Cæsar there. He sheweth,

that the Picts were in Britain long before Cæsar came there, in these words: "Moreover, the nation, he (Julius Cæsar) attacked was then rude; and the Britons, used only to the Picts and Irish as enemies, and being yet themselves but half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns." And these Picts, even in Fife, were in Agricola's time so numerous, and their forces so aboundant, that Tacitus says, cap. 25. of the life of Agricola, "In the mean time, we had advice that the enemy's design was to divide and attack us in many places; whereupon, lest he should be under disadvantage by the number of the enemy, and their knowledge of the country, he likewise divided his army into three bodies."

We are now to inquire what people they were, and from whence they came hither. Tacitus, cap. 11. concludeth, from the habit of their body, that they were Germans. "They that live in Caledonia are red headed and long limbed, which speaks them of a German extraction." And the venerable Bede is much of the same opinion, Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1. "It happened that the nation of the Picts entering the ocean from Scythia, as is reported, in not many large ships." And below he saith, "The Picts going to Britain began to inhabit the northern parts of the island." This opinion of Bede is well explained and confirmed by the learned Dr. Stillingfleet, in his Origines Britannicæ, cap. 5. p. 245. thus: "Besides these two (people) he makes a third race of men in Britain, whom he fetches out of Germany, and these were the Caledonian Britains; but he takes Germany in

a very large sense, so as to extend as far as the Samatæ, and to comprehend under it the northern nations of the Cimbri, the Gothones, and the Sueones; from whom it seems very probable, that the Caledonian Britains were descended, as the southern Britains came from the Celtæ, whose language and religion were kept up among them. But the Caledonians came from the European Scythians, to whose coasts they lay much nearer than to those of the Celtæ, and their larger proportions, which Tacitus observes, agree very well with this supposition.

"And these, if I mistake not, were the original Picts, but not called by that name, till new colonies came over to people the country, after the terrible devastation of it by the continuance of the Roman wars: for Claudian, de quarto Consul. Honorii, makes Thule the country of the Picts; and, after all the disputes which have been about it, Olaus Rudbeck hath made it very probable in his Atlantica, c. 19. that Scandinavia is meant by it; which he proves, not only from the testimony of Procopius, who affirms it, but from the exact agreement of the relations of Pythias, Isidorus, and others with that, and neither with Iseland, nor any other place."

Besides, Bede, lib. 1. cap. 1. saith, "the common tradition was, that the Pict came out of Scythia, which is affirmed by Matthew Westminster and many others; but they do not mean the Asian, but the European Scythia, which comprehended under it all the most northern nations. Hector Boethius' conjecture, Hist. Scot. fol. 4. is not at all

improbable, who deduces the *Picti* from the *Agathyrsi*, i. e. from the maritime inhabitants of the Baltic sea; or, as he expresses it, from those who came first out of Sarmatia into the Cimbric Chersonese, and from thence into Scotland." *

This is the opinion of Hector Boethius. Mr. George Buchanan likewise makes the Picts to be descended from the Goths, in these words: "But seeing the Picts marked their skins with iron, and stigmatised them with the pictures of divers animals, the best way will be to inquire what nations, either in Scythia, Germany, or the neighbouring countries, did use that custom of painting their bodies, not for terror, but ornament. And first, we meet in Thracia with the Geloni, according to Virgil, of whom Claudian speaks in his first book against Rufinus:

The Geloni love to print,
Their limbs with iron instrument.

We meet also with the Getæ in Thrace, mentioned by the same poet:

Skin wearing Getes consult, with hair unhorn,
Whose marked bodies numerous scars adorn.

Therefore, seeing the Geloni, as Virgil writes, are neighbours to the Getes, and either the Gothuni, or Getini, according to Arianus, are numbered

* "Thir pepyll war callit Pictos, outhir for thayr semely personis, or ellis for the variant colour of thair clething, or ellis thay war namit Pychtis, fra the Pychtis namit Agathirsanis, thair ancient faderis."

amongst the Getes; and seeing the Gothani, as Tacitus says, speak the Gallic language; what hinders but that we may believe the Picts had their origin from thence? But, from whatsoever province of Germany they came, I think it probable, that they were of the ancient colonies of the Gauls, who seated themselves either on the Swedish sea, or on the Danube."

Buchanan's argument is, that the Picts were of a Gothish race and extract, because as the Goths cut figures upon their bodies, the Picts did the like. He proveth that the Goths did cut such figures upon their bodies from the poet Claudian. Now that the Picts cut the like figures upon their bodies, is clear from Claudian also, lib. de bello Getico, versu 416.

> "*The legion came the utmost Britons guard,*
> *Which the fierce Scot did curb with bridle hard;*
> *And read the marks i' the skins of dying Picts*
> *Insculpt with iron.*"

I have adduced several citations to the same purpose, because they illustrate much one another, and confirm Buchanan's opinion, that the Picts are descended from the Goths, especially this tribe of them of which *Argathelsus* was the chief, who possest this very country which is the subject of this book.

It is clear from Tacitus, in his treatise de Germaniâ, what the vesture and way of living of the Germans in his time were; and whoever will compare what Sidonius Apollinaris has said of the

habit of the Goths, and compare that with what Cæsar says of some of the Britains, and with the habit of those who live in the isles and north parts of this country, will find that the Picts, their predecessors, were of a Gothish extract.

I begin with Cæsar, he says of the Britains, l. 5. de bello Gallico, that "Many of them who dwell in the inner part of the country, sow no corns, but live upon milk and flesh, and are cloathed with skins." Then Tacitus, l. de Germaniâ, says, "Their cloathing is a loose coat, joined together with a broach, but for want of that, with a thorn; being uncovered as to any thing else, they ly basking whole days upon the hearth by the fire. The most wealthy are distinguished by a garment, not flowing like the Sarmathians and Parthians, but closs, and representing every joint. They wear also the skins of wild beasts."

Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. 20. l. 4. describing the habit of the Gothish princes, says, "The dress of the Gothish princes consists of a robe of white silk, splendidly adorned with scarlet and gold, resembling by these ornaments the redness of their hair and skin. Their appearance is terrible even in peace. On their feet they wear shoes of the rough hide; their limbs are naked; a close party-coloured tunic scarce reaches to their bare thighs; its sleeves cover only the upper part of their arms; swords hung by belts, and green mantles trimmed with purple borders, fall from the shoulders on their waists, which are bound up in close vests made of skins, and fastened with broaches. When thus attired, they are armed with javelins, axes,

and darts, and defended by shields, having their outer edges painted white and the bosses of a deep yellow, calculated to dazzle the sight, the intended effect of the mixture of these glaring colours." Whoever did see an Highlandman armed, will find this an exact description of him, especially of one of the better sort.

CHAP. II.

CONCERNING THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS.

ALL languages are apt to change much in continuance of time, by the mixture of other people among the natives; and upon this account, no language is pure and without mixture of foreign words. The old mother languages are the standards we are to examine them by: the Scythian tongue was the mother of the Gothic, Saxon, and Danish; and the language we use now in the north part of Scotland is composed of these three, with some Latin and French words introduced by the Romans and French when they were here. The farther north the country stretcheth, the language cometh the nearer to the Gothic; and in Orkney and Shetland, the common people do speak a dialect of the Gothic, which they call Norse, a specimen of which Dr. Wallace has given us in the account of the islands of Orkney, printed at London in 1700, in the 68th and 69th pages, in the Lord's

prayer, in that Norse language, which they have derived to them, either from the Picts, or some others who first planted Orkney, which he remarks has little of the Norwegian language as it is now, and seems to be the old Gothic. *

The learned Busbequius, in his epistles concerning his journey to Constantinople, has given us a few words of some Goths he saw there, who lived near the Precop-Tartars, which agree much with our language. And Runolph Jonas, in his small Islandick dictionary, printed with the learned Dr. Hicks's Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ, has some thousands of words which have much the affinity with what we call broad Scots. In it you may trace the Gothic tongue in such words as signify the parts of our body inward or outward, our cloaths and vesture, our eating and drinking, but especially in matters relating to the sea, and to the labouring of the ground, in which the commons are most employed; and in our numbers, in the days of the week, and in what relates to kindred, and in several words belonging to religion and things sacred, our geographical and hydrographical words are pure Gothic, such as Ross, Ness, Sund, Ey, for land environed with water, with which Ey, the names of many isles terminate, and

* Favor ir i chimri. 2. Helleur ir i nam thite. 3. Gilla cosdum thite cumma. 4. Veya thine mota vara gort o yurn, sinna gort i chimrie. 5. Ga vus da on da dalight brow vera. 6. Firgive vus sinna vora sin vee firgive sindara mutha vus. 7. Lyve us ye i tuntation. 8. Min delivera vus fro olt ilt. Amen; or, on sa meteth vera.

the many monosyllable words which are in use amongst the vulgar still, are Gothic. I shall adduce a few, which we pronounce as the Goths do.

Ate, to eat
Aed, an oath
Ande, ende, our breath
Back, the back
Band, a bond
Barn, a bairn
Bed, our bed
Beine, a bane, or bone
Ber, bare, naked
Bid, to pray
Byde, to stay
Bir, force, might
Blad, a blade, or heft
Braud, bread
Bure, a bour
Dyn, noise
Gang, going, and rank
Gape, *hiare*
Gef, to give
Glass, glass, *vitrum*
Gled, glad, joyful
Hey, *fænum*
Heite, heat
Hight, height
Hola, a hole
Ilt, ill, evil
Kol, a coal
Kross, a korsse, cross
Land, earth, ground
Dyr, a door
Dyrd, bragging
Drift, snowing
Ele, ale
Egg, an egg
Ey, an isle
Fal, fa, *casus*
Fas, face
Fet, foot
Flag, yield, flee
Folk, people
Foder, *pabulum*
Frise, frize, *gelare*
Frost, *glacies*
Fugle, fowl
Gagn, gain
Rid, rescued
Ryf, frequent
Ryse, to rise
Rot, corrupt
Saal, saule, soul
Saar, a sair, wound
Sell, to sell
Syd, to seeth, boil
Skade, sked, skeith, hurt
Shyn, to shine
Skill, art
Ship, *navis*
Slae, to slay

Eerde, yerd, earth
Lyfe, *vita*
Lof, praise
Lost, tint,
List, pleasure, will
Malt, mault
Mila, a mile
Mill, a miln
Milde, mild
Mold, a mould
Nafn, a name
Nyt, nit, neat, new
Puke, an ill spirit
Reek, riek, *fumus*
Scug, pretence, a shadow
Stint, to straiten
Stir, to move
Sturt, commotion
Stour, dust in motion
Tale, a tale
Tal, tale, number
Torf, a turf
Ugla, an owl, howlet
Ull, oul, wool
Var, warry, beware
Verk, wark, work
Zeed, geed, went.

These words are yet used not only in Fife, (which was the chief part of the Pictish kingdom,) but also in all the coast of the German sea, even as far as the Humber, to which the possession of the Picts reached; and since they possessed much of that country upwards of a thousand years, and were not exterminated all of them (as shall be shewn afterwards) but most of the common people were, upon their submission, incorporated with the Scots, and these who conquered their country: there is no doubt our language, and the dialect which prevaileth, and is yet in use as far as Humber, retaineth still much of that tongue and many of their words, and the same way of pronouncing them. The learned John Ray has furnished us a strong argument for this, in his collection of English words, not generally used, with their significations and original, in two alphabetical cata-

logues, the one of such as are proper to the northern, the other to the southern counties, printed at London anno 1674. The first catalogue is of the northern words; because, in the north especially, the language of the common people is to a stranger very difficult to be understood; and indeed, the most of these northern words he giveth account of in his alphabet of northern words, are such as savour of what we call broad Scots, in distinction to the Highlanders language, and the refined language of the gentry, which the more polite people among us do use, and is made up of Saxon, French, and Latin words. I grant, the body of the Gothic language, even as it was spoken by the common people in the northern counties of Scotland, and in Orkney and Shetland, had many words which are not used now, such as we meet with in the printed histories of Sir William Wallace, the governor of Scotland, and of King Robert Bruce, and in the old acts of parliament and Regiam Majestatem, and in the writings of Sir David Lindsay and Bishop Gavin Douglass, and others; there being in them several words of a Selavonian extract, and such as was used of old by the Goths who dwelt upon the coast of the Baltic sea, and in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, from whence the Picts came to our isles and north counties, and these who first possest all the coast of the German sea to the Humber; as *Kirkua*, the name of the royal burgh in the mainland of Orkney; and the May, to this day, the name of an island in the mouth of the Firth of Forth, which in the ancient Gothic, signifieth a green island, because of its commodious-

ness for pasture, for it is all green grass. These and several others I met with in the MS. register of the priory of St. Andrews; such as *Monechata*, afterwards called *Monichi*, perhaps the same which is now called Mounzie, and *Doldanacha*, called in that register afterwards *Chondro-hedalion*, *Hyrhatnachten*, *Machchirb*, *Hadnacten* afterwards, and now *Nachton*, a place upon the north coast of Fife. *Muckross*, afterward *Kylrymont*, and now St. Andrews; which clearly show, that the old language of this shire was the Gothic, used by the Picts, the ancient possessors of it, who continued in the sole possession of it, and of these other counties above mentioned, according to the report of ancient historians, as well English as Scots, for more than a thousand years.

These words, with the other remains of that language we call broad Scots, which is yet used by the vulgar, abundantly prove, that the Picts were a Gothic nation, and their language was a dialect of the Gothic, distinct from the Saxon, which is the mother of the language spoken in that part of Britain besouth the Humber, of which the learned Mr. Ray giveth an account in his alphabet of south and east country words, many of which are not understood by our common people, nor even by these who dwell in the north counties of South Britain.

The poet Claudian, Car. viii. ver. 31 and 32, says,

"The Orcades were moist with Saxon gore,
Warm with the blood of Picts flowed Thule's shore;
And whilst its head, each Scotsman's tomb uprears,
Icy Juverna all dissolves in tears."

In which he points at the dwellings of these people, makes the Thule to be the country possessed by the Picts; which Thule, in an essay reprinted with the last edition of Cambden at London, 1695, I have shown, is to be understood of the north part of Britain, separated from the rest by the firths of Forth and Clyde, and the slip of land betwixt them. And it was upon this account that the venerable Bede called the Picts and Scots "Transmarine nations, not because they were situated out of Britain, but because they were divided from the Britons by two gulphs of the sea, the one on the east and the other on the west, which penetrates far into the country."

I think by this time it appeareth to be clear, that the Picts, for the arguments adduced, were of a Gothish extract, and came from Norway and the places upon the Baltic, to our isles and continent. I shall conclude it behoved to be so from what Procopius says, who wrote the history of the Goths, l. 2. Versionis Grotianæ, p. 239, he gives there an account of a conference betwixt Belisarius and some Gothish ambassadors who were sent to him. The Goths say. "We give to you Sicily, that large and rich island, without which your possession of Africa is insecure." And Belisarius in return, said, "We yield Britain to the Goths, which is much larger than Sicily, and which belongs to the Romans by ancient right." I ask who these Goths in Britain were that Belisarius speaketh of, if they were not the Picts? which certainly they behoved to be, by the preceding arguments.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING THE MANNERS, POLICY, AND RELIGIOUS RITES OF THE PICTS.

TO give an account of the manners, policy, and religious rites of the Picts, we must have our recourse to the vestiges of them which do yet remain amongst us, and to the Latin historians.

The governments and civil policy of the Picts was like to that of the Germans from whom they sprung: of them Tacitus remarks, l. de Germaniâ, cap. 7. "They make choice of their kings for their noble extraction, their commanders and generals for their courage. Nor have their kings a boundless and unlimited power: their captains they prefer more for example than command, if active, if of presence of mind and behave themselves well at the head of the army. But it is not permitted to reprimand, nor put in chains, nor indeed chastise, to any but the priests; not as if it were for a punishment, or by orders of the captain, but as it their gods commanded it, whom they believe assisting in their engagements. They carry the effiges and certain banners taken down from the groves into the battle; and what is the chief incitement to their courage is not chance, nor a fortuitous embodying, which composes the squadron on pointed battle, but their own family and nearest relations, and hard by are their children; from whence the lamentations of their women, and cries of their infants may be heard: these are the most sacred wit-

nesses, and the highest applauders of every man's bravery. To their mothers and wives they declare their hurts, nor are they afraid to number or suck their wounds; they carry provisions to, and animate them when they are fighting. It is recorded, that certain troops beginning to stagger and giving ground were made to rally again by the women, by their importunities, the exposing of their own breasts, and demonstrating their approaching captivity; which upon the account of their women, they bear with much more impatience; so the affection and faith of these clans are the more effectually secured, to whom *(inter obsides puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur)* orders are given to send amongst their hostages the noblest virgins. Moreover, they think there is something sacred in them, and provident and foreseeing; neither do they reject their counsel, or neglect to follow their advice."

He says, cap. 11. "Of little affairs the princes, of greater all in general advise: so notwithstanding that, these things, whose arbritration is in the power of the populace, are fully canvassed amongst the princes." And in another place he saith, "Silence is commanded by the priests, in whom there is lodged then the coercive power; by and by the king or prince, according to every one's age, their quality, reputation gained in the wars, or talent in rhetorick, are heard, more by the authority of persuading, than the power of commanding; if the opinion displeases, it is rejected by a murmuring; if it pleases, they clash their weapons: it is the most honourable manner of assent to applaud it with their arms."

This was the policy amongst the Germans, the ancestors of the Picts; and who will compare the vestiges of the Pictish government which are mentioned in the Roman writers, will see the Picts had the same. Thus Tacitus tells us of Galgacus, who commanded the army of the associated Caledonians, consisting of Scots and Picts, that "he was preferred for his high birth and great virtue." And Dio, in his account of Severus, says, that when the emperor was treating a peace with the Caledonians, Argentocoxus Caledonius treated with him, and he was the chief of the clan, which was named from the painting of their body with a red colour, as those who were of a Gothic extract marked their bodies as the Goths did with cinnaber, as is insinuated here by the word *coch*, which signifies a red or scarlet colour. That the kings of the Picts' power was limited, is clear also from what Tacitus saith in the life of Agricola, cap. 12. "They were formerly governed by kings, but now they are divided into factions and parties, by some ringleaders." And Dio, in Severus, saith of them, "The people for the most part hath the government;" which is to be understood, as Tacitus represented the government of the Germans in the place cited before: for Tacitus telleth us, that the Caledonians had their conventions, in which they consulted about the matters of greatest importance; cap. 27. in Agricola thus: "The Britains supposing themselves defeated, not by the courage of their adversaries, but conduct of their general, who had watched his opportunity, abated nothing of their arrogance, but listed the stoutest men they had, and

carried their wives and children to places of the greatest security. The clans confederated together, meeting frequently, and by religious rites and offering up sacrifices, confirmed their association." And it is very like, in these meetings, the same order and manner was followed, which was observed, as was said, by the Germans their ancestors.

Our historian John Fordun, gives us a list of the Pictish kings, in the tenth and twelfth chapters of his fourth book of his history of the Scots: Titulo, de Catalogo Regum Pictorum, thus:

"CHAP. X.

		Years.
1	*Cruythné*,[1] son of Kynné the judge	50
2	*Ghedé*[2]	250
3	*Tharan*	
4	*Dmorthetify*	20
5	*Duchil*	40
6	*Duordeghal*	20
7	*Decokheth*	60
8	*Combust*	20
9	*Caranathereth*	40
10	*Garnabolger*	9
11	*Wypopneth*	30

Those marked thus * are not found in Chron. Pict.

1 From the name of this king, the Irish, fond of patronymics, called the Picts Cruitnich, or wheat eaters.

2 In the list of the Pictish kings, taken from Chron. Pict. there will be found 14 betwixt Cruythné and Ghedé, there called Gilgide. The improbability of the statement of Fordun, that two kings reigned 250 years, sufficiently marks his list as defective.

		Years.
12	*Blarchasserath**	17
13	*Fractna* the white	30
14	*Thalarger Amfrud**	16
15	*Canatalmet*	6
16	*Dongardnethles**	1
17	*Feradath*,* son of Fynyel	2
18	*Garnard* the rich	60
19	*Hargust*,* son of Forgso	27
20	*Thalarger*, son of Keother	25
21	*Durst*, otherwise called Nectave, son of Irb	45
22	*Thalarger*, son of Amyle	2
23	*Nectave Chaltamoth*	10
24	*Durst Gortnoch*	30
25	*Galaam*	15
26	*Durst*, son of Gigurum	9
27	*Durst*, son of Ochtred	8
28	*Garnard*, son of Gigurum	6
29	*Kelturan*, his brother	6
30	*Thalarger*, son of Mordeleth	11
31	*Durst*, son of Moneth	1
32	*Thalagath*	4
33	*Brudé*, son of Merlothon	19

In his reign, St. Columba having come to Scotland,[1] converted him to Christianity. Bede says, that St. Columba came into

1 Venerable Bede knew better than to say, that St. Columba came to Scotland to preach to the king of the Picts. It is curious that Fordun should make this assertion, in opposition to the very authority which he quotes. Columba converted Brudé, and most of the northern Picts, i. e. those to the north of the Grampian mountains, the Dicaledones, in the ninth year of this reign.

Pictland in the ninth year of the reign of Brudé, the son of Merlothon, a very powerful prince, which was the year of Christ, 565.

This is the catalogue of the Pictish kings, who it seems were heathens, though some of their people were Christians some time before this. So Brudé, the son of Merlothon, was the first Christian king.

"CHAP. XII.

		Years.
34	*Garnard*, son of Dompnath. He founded Abernethy[1]	29
35	*Nectave*, son of Irb	11
36	*Kenel*, son of Luchtran	14
37	*Nectave*,* son of Fodé	8
38	*Brudé*, son of Fathna	
39	*Thalarger*, son of Farthaer	11
40	*Talargan*, son of Amfend	4
41	*Garnard*, son of Dompnal	5
42	*Durst*, his brother	6
43	*Brudé*, son of Bilé	11
44	*Gharan*, son of Amsedeth	4
45	*Brudé*, son of Derili	21
46	*Nectave*, his brother	18

1 The register of St. Andrews ascribes the foundation of Abernethy to the successor of Garnard, Nectave, or Nethan II.: and if we judge from etymology, it must have been founded by one of this name, Aber-Nethan.

He, according to Bede, received letters out of England, about the observation of the feast of Easter.[2]

47 *Garnard,** son of Feredeth 14
48 *Oengusa,*[3] son of Fergusa 16
49 *Nectavé,** son of Derely, nine months
50 *Oengusa,** son of Brudé, six months
51 *Alpin,* son of Feredeth, 26 years and six months
52 *Brudé,** son of Tenegus 2
53 *Alpin,** son of Tenegus 2
54 *Durst,* son of Thalargan 1
55 *Thalarger, Drusken** 4
56 *Thalarger,* son of Tenegus 5
57 *Constantine,* son of Fergus 40
He built Duntreldon, which some MSS. read Dunkeld[3]
58 *Hungus,* son of Fergus 10
59 *Durstolorger* 4
60 *Eoghane,* son of Hungus 3
61 *Feredeth,* son of Badoc 3
62 *Brudé,* son of Feredeth, one month
63 *Keneth,** son of Feredeth 1
64 *Brudé,** son of Fotehel 2
65 *Drusken,* son of Feredeth 3

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2 Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wiremouth, wrote his famous letter on this subject to Nethan in 715, which seems to have incited him to expel the monks of Iona in 716, because they had taken the opposite side to him in the question about Easter, then agitated betwixt the British and Irish churches.

3 This Prince (Hungus, son of Fergus) was the greatest warrior since Durst, and he extended the Pictish dominions over the greater part of present Scotland.

In this reign the Picts entirely lost their kingdom, which was transferred to Kenneth, king of the Scots, and his successors.

Any who compareth these names of the Pictish kings with the names of the Scots kings, will see they must have been of a different origin and extract. The names of the Picts are such as are in use amongst the Germans and Goths. Kenel Filius Luchtren, now Luthren, is Luther, a name proper to the Germans. Several of those names are recorded in the ancient register of the priory of St. Andrews, of which there will be occasion to speak, when we give an account of a Pictish record mentioned there.

The chief seat of the kings of the Picts (while their government stood) was at Abernethy, where they had public schools of learning, and professors of sciences and arts. The chief administrators under the kings, (when they were heathens) in religious matters, were the Druids, and (when they were Christians,) the Culdees: and in civil matters the Thanes and Abthanes had the management, who came with the Picts from their ancient seats in Germany, especially from the Baltic, Norway, and Denmark, where, as Buchanan says, "In former times, there was no name superior to that of a knight, except that of a Thane, *i. e.* governor or sheriff of a province or county, which custom as I hear, is yet observed amongst the Danes."—Buchanan, vol. 1. cap. vi. *

* Thane was a title common in the southern part of the island, but that it was known among the Picts, rests on no authority.

It seems that in the Pictish time, the Abthanes and Thanes were all, who for the degree were called Earls in after times; they were such as the sheriffs are now, they collected the king's rents in the counties they were set over, and were judges in matters civil and criminal. The Abthane was, (as Fordun sheweth, Scoti Chronicon, l. 4. c. 19.) "The chief of the Thanes, their master, under the king, to whom they were obliged to account yearly for the royal revenues collected in their respective provinces. The Abthane himself had the management of the exchequer, and thus he held the office of treasurer, or chamberlain." *

The qualities and manners of the Picts are to be gathered from the ancient authors also. Herodian, in the history of Severus, saith of them, "That they were a warlike people, and loved to shed blood: they used a narrow shield and lance, and a sword hanging by their naked side, and made no use of coat of mail or helmet." Tacitus, in his account of Germany, says, "The bodies of that nation are hardned, their limbs compact, their countenances threatening, and their courage greater;" and the Caledonians, their offspring, were in these

No proof has been produced that it was used in this country before the time of Malcolm III. who introduced Saxon names and customs; though the ignorance or the flattery of some annalists, as is often the case, has led them to bestow a dignity, familiar to themselves, on men who lived before it was known.

* The office of Abthane is a creation of the author of Scoti Chronicon. It seems to have been fabricated to give greater dignity to Crinan, the husband of Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II., and father of King Duncan, and consequently paternal ancestor of the royal family of Scotland.

things like to them. Dio, in Severus, says, "That they had whingers also." And he addeth, that "They indure hunger and cold, and all sort of toil, and feed in the woods upon the barks and roots of trees; but they have one sort of meat, of which, upon all occasions, they take the bigness of a bean, which sustains them for some days." What Tacitus observed of the hospitality of the Germans, is yet remarkable in those descended of them: "It was held a crime to turn any out of doors; every one treated answerable to his fortune: when the provisions were all spent, he which last entertained, was a guide and companion of his guest, and, though uninvited, they go to the next house, nor is it taken ill: they were received with the same civility, no one distinguished the known and unknown, as far as related to the right of hospitality: their diet was simple, wild fruits, fresh meat, or curds, without dainties; they expect hunger; ale was their drink, made of barley." &c.

As to their religious rites, (in the time before they were Christians) they must be collected from the hint Tacitus giveth of them, and from the vestiges of them which yet remain in the country. Tacitus, in his 27th chapter of the life of Agricola, says of the inhabitants of this country, "That after the fight they had with the forces of Agricola, when they attacked the ninth legion in their trenches, and were beat off by the coming up of Agricola with the rest of his army, they prepared for another battle: The clans confederated together, meeting frequently, and by religious rites and sacrifices, confirmed their association." Tacitus, in his account

of Germany, cap 39, shows the nature and quality of those assemblies, where he treats of the Semnones. "The Semnones report, that they are the most ancient and noble of the Suevians: the truth of their antiquity is confirmed by their religion. At a set time, all the people of one blood assemble by their embassies in a wood, sacred by the auguries or oracles of their ancestors, and by an ancient veneration, and celebrate the horrid beginnings of their barbarous rites by publicly killing a man. There is also another reverence paid to that grove: no one enters into it, unless bound like an inferior person, and professing openly the power of their god: if by chance he falls down, it is not lawful to be taken away, or rise up, but he is rolled off the ground: and thither all their superstition tends; and from thence were derived the origin of their nation, that there was God, ruler of all, that all beside were subject and obeying."

Our Caledonians descending from them did observe the like rites, which were performed by the Druids, their priests, whose chief residence was in the Isle of Man, which is situated betwixt Britain and Ireland: they came there from Ireland, which, in ancient times, was called the Holy Island; from this isle they came first over to the south coast of Britain, and from thence spread all over the island, of which Pliny, writing of the Druids and their magic art, says, in the first chapter of the xxxth book, "Why need I mention these things of an art, that has passed over the ocean, and been carried to the extreme boundaries of nature? And to this day Britain celebrates it with as many ceremo-

nies as could be offered among the Persians." And besides what Tacitus says of the rites of the Druids in Britain, Cæsar, in his sixth book de bello Gallico, where he describeth the religion of the Druids fully, says, "Their religion is found in Britain, and they who wish to understand their discipline thoroughly, must go there to learn it." And in another place, he gives us the articles of it, thus, "They hold that the soul does not perish, but passes after death from one body to another; and they think by thus teaching a contempt of death, that they best excite the courage of their disciples. They discourse of, and deliver to the youth, many things about the heavenly bodies and their motions; the extent of the universe, and of this earth; the nature of things, and the attributes and government of the gods." * They maintained the immortality of the soul, and were both divines and philosophers; they were the priests who performed the sacrifices, and they were the judges in all controversies both civil and criminal, and they were the physicians to whom they had recourse in their sickness, and they were the prophets who foretold what was to come to pass among them; as may be seen in Cæsar's commentaries, and in Pliny's natural history. All their religious rites were performed in woods and groves, under such trees as spread most, and the Druids had their name from the oak tree which they

* There is little probability that Druidism was established in Pictland. It is of the southern and western parts of Britain only that Cæsar speaks, of the northern he had no knowledge. The Druids seem to have been confined to the Celtic tribes, and to have been unknown to the Scandinavian or Germanic nations.

esteemed most. There are many vestiges of them remaining amongst the country people, especially in the north and the isles, and every where they are apt to make use of charms, notwithstanding that ever since the Christian religion was received, care has been taken to extirpate them.

It is very probable that some particular persons amongst the Picts may have been converted to the Christian religion by the Scots, who very soon embraced it: but the æra of the conversion of the Picts in Fifeshire, is by our historians deduced from the arrival (in the east nook of Fifeshire,) of St. Regulus, whom they call St. Rule, and his companions, with the reliques of St. Andrew.

They differ somewhat about the time when this happened: our great historian Archbishop Spottiswood, condescendeth on the year of Christ 370, when Hergustus was king of the Picts; and others agree that it was when Hergustus was king. Mr. Maule, in his MS. history, makes Regulus to have arrived here in 363, in the reign of our king Fethelmachus. The extracts I have out of the great register book of the priory of St. Andrews, make Constantius to have wasted the city of Patras, where the relics of St. Andrew were kept; and to have carried them away in 345; and that the third night before the emperor came there, St. Rule was warned by a vision to take some of the reliques to bring them hither, and it was some years thereafter before he arrived here. Fordun, lib. 2. cap. 46, 47, and 48, has the history of this, and says it was some years after the first vision before Regulus left Patras; and that he had a second vision, commanding

him to bring them hither; upon which he took voyage by sea, with his companions, and near two years thereafter, suffered shipwreck at Muckross, on the Fife coast, when Hurgust, the son of Forgius, whom he calls (in the catalogue of the Pictish kings) Forgso, reigned here; and he says, that "King Hungus, building his palace in the same place near the church, granted as a perpetual alms-gift to St. Regulus and his companions, certain lands, to be cultivated for raising corn." Fordun calleth Regulus an abbot; the excerpts of the old register of St. Andrew calleth him a bishop, and his companions his clerks; and showeth, that afterwards they travelled through the country, and built several churches, (which in those times were built of wood, with which this country abounded,) the manuscript mentioneth three, one at Forteviot, a town then, one at Monechata, which was afterwards called Monichi, and beyond the Moneth, one at Doldanha, called afterwards Chondrohedalion. It is not known where these towns stood, the buildings being then of wood, perished, and there is no vestige left of them.

Regulus made his abode in the east nook of Fifeshire, and is reported to have lived there 32 years after his arrival, serving God devoutly in cells, and gave the rise to the Culdees, who lived there for many ages thereafter. Boethius' Hist. lib. 6, says, "That Hurgust built near his palace a church, dedicated to St. Andrew. It is reported to be the same that is still standing in the common burial ground of the abbey, in which there are many ancient but nameless tomb-stones. This

church was formerly called Kilreul, *i. e.* the church of St. Regulus, or rather the church built by the persuasion of St. Regulus. It is now called the old church of St. Andrew." After Hurgust, their greatest benefactor was king Hungus; the extracts out of the old register of St. Andrews show us, that "Hungus gave for a parish to the church of St. Andrew all the lands lying betwixt the seas Ishundenema and Sletheuma, and bounded by a line extending from Largo, by Ceres, to Hyhatnachten Machchirb, now called Hadnachton. And the king gave this district, *i. e.* Kilrymont, to God and St. Andrew his apostle, with its waters, meadows, fields, pastures, muirs, and woods, in a perpetual almsgift, with this peculiar privilege, that its inhabitants should be exempted from levies, the building of castles and bridges, and all taxes imposed by the state. In confirmation of this privilege, the king in presence of his nobles, brought a turf, cut from that land, and laid it on the altar of St. Andrew."

The excerpts of the manuscript register tell, that, "after the destruction of the Pictish kingdom by the Scots, the interests of the church flourished or decayed, in proportion to the devotion which the kings and nobles paid to St. Andrew. The royal residence was at Rymont (*i. e.* Kingshill) which Hungus gave to St. Andrew." This is confirmed by Buchanan, who says, "Kenneth translated the episcopal see which the Picts had placed at Abernethy, to the church of St. Rule, which was afterwards called St. Andrew." And that Brude, the son and last king of the Picts, gave to St. Servan and the Culdees the isle of Loch-Leven.

CHAP. IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PICTS AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THEIR MONARCHY.

WHEN such of the Picts as willingly submitted to our kings were incorporated in one kingdom with the Scots, there were several of the chief men amongst them who persisted in opposing our kings, and were therefore forfeited, and their lands given to those who did best service in the subduing them: some of those chief men who were forfeited removed, with their followers and adherents, to Norway and Denmark, from whence they had their descent and origin: others went to Northumberland and the adjacent counties in England, where they fixed their abode, and infested with their incursions these counties in Scotland which lay nearest to them, which is clear from the history of Ingulphus, lately published from the manuscripts. He says, "After the death of the renowned King Edward, Athelstane his son succeeded. Against him Anlaff, son of Sitric, formerly king of Northumberland, rebelled and carried on a cruel war. Having entered into a confederacy with Constantine, king of the Scots, and Owen, king of Cumberland, and many other barbarous chiefs, he fought the king of England. The army which Anlaff drew together, consisted of a vast multitude of Danes and Norwegians, and Scots and Picts," &c. And in another place, he saith, "He had passed the troops of the Orkney

men and the Picts." * And it is certain, there were some of them under the name of Picts in England, in the time of William the Conqueror, as appeareth from a statute of his (we shall give you,) which the learned Selden furnisheth to us, from an imperfect copy of Hoveden, the English historian, and from William Lambard's Codex de Priscis Anglorum Legibus, wherein he says, "There are published several of the ancient laws of England, which, however, do not every where agree with the copy I use." He judgeth it fit to exhibit it in his notes and Spicelegium ad Eadmerum, page 189, thus: "WILLIAM, by the grace of God, king of the English, and duke of the Normans, to all his subjects of France and England, greeting.—Law li. Of religion and the public peace.—We ordain, in the first place, and above all, that one God be worshipped through all our kingdom, and that the faith of Jesus Christ be kept inviolate, that there be peace, security, concord and justice, betwixt the English and Normans, the Franks and Britons of Wales and Cornwall, the *Picts* and Scots of Albany," &c. †

It is to be remarked, that Albania here is to be

* In the middle of the 10th century, therefore, when Constantine III. reigned over the united nations of North Britain, the Picts were still recognised as a distinct race. The number of the army of the allies, collected chiefly by the influence of Constantine, to whom Anlaff had fled for protection, was very great. It was conveyed to the Humber in 615 ships.

† William obtained the crown of England in 1066. This statute, therefore, if correctly edited, points out the existence of the Picts as a separate people toward the end of the 11th century.

taken, as Luddus and Pricæus make it, to contain the country benorth the Humber. *

Others of the Picts went to the isles of Orkney and Shetland, where their language continueth yet in use amongst the commons, and is by them called Norse. These Picts who went to Orkney, Shetland, and Norway, brought the Danes first to invade this country; for Boethius telleth us, Hist. Scot. l. 10. f. 206, that the Danes, for the cause of the war, pretended that the miserable remains of the Picts,

* Albany was at this time the proper name of the north and east parts of Scotland, the ancient seats of the Picts. It was no unnatural figure to call the people of Northumbria "of Albany," as they were descended of the inhabitants of that country; or from the number of them in the north of England, it may for a while have obtained the name of the mother country. That the Picts possessed the north of England up to the Humber, as conquerors of the Britons, for about a century, and that they afterwards remained as subjects to the new invaders of that district, the Jutes and Angles, is well entertained. Venerable Bede, and also Gildas, mention, that the Picts in 426 had seized all the country to the wall of Gallio, between the Solway and the Tyne, and that about 448, they had extended their sovereignty to the Humber, and that they retained their dominion till about 550 or 560, when Ida founded the kingdom of Bernicia, and Ella that of Deira, to which princes they submitted. The ordinance of the council of Calcot, or Calcuth, in Northumbria, in 787, against the noted practice of staining their bodies, ascertains that they still remained a distinct race, probably the most numerous people of that kingdom, which then included both Bernicia and Deira. Thus the Picts are to be traced in the north of England, from the beginning of the 5th to the end of the 11th century, when they became so mixed with the Danes, Jutes, and Angles, that they were no longer to be distinguished. As all these nations had the same origin with the Picts, the language of the north of England remains very similar to the common Scotish, and is more Gothic than that of any other English province. Pink. Vol. 1. Part III.—Henry, Chap. ii. § 1.

who had fled to their country, had transferred to them all the right to the kingdom they had in Albion. The Danes first invaded Fife, under the conduct of Hubba and Hungar (as Boethius nameth them) two of the king's brothers. Buchanan gives several causes of the war, the first is, that they were invited and intreated by the Picts to make war upon the Scots. And the second is, that Buerneus (whose wife had been debauched by Osbreth,) desired them to make war. The third is, that the Danes, of all the Germans, abounded most with wealth, and their young people did so increase, that there was a necessity of seeking new seats for them. And thus they were induced to pass into Britain with a great fleet. It is like some Picts in their company persuaded them to land in Fife, which belonged formerly to them. By their incampments near to the water of Leven, it is like they landed in the bays where Bruntisland, Petticur, Kinghorn, Kirkaldie, and Dysert stand, and from thence marched up to the inner parts of the country: They killed all they met with, and burnt the churches and houses wherever they came. This happened when Constantine II. son of Keneth II. was king of the Scots, anno 874. He soon raised an army, for none refused to take arms against such cruel enemies as the Danes were. The camps of the Danes were about two furlongs distance from each other, and the water of Leven run betwixt them. As the Scots army were advancing towards the camp upon the north side of Leven water it rained much, and the water rose so high, that for two days it could not be passed: when it grew fair, Constantine took

hold of the opportunity to fight these in the north camp, when, because of the spate of the water, the Danes in the camp upon the south side of the water could not assist their fellows in the north camp. Constantine's men first seized those who were foraging and bringing provisions to the camp. This did so vex the Danes, that they could not be kept in their trenches as their commanders inclined they should, to wait till those in the other camp should join them. They came out of their trenches in confusion, their fierce countenance and the bulk of their bodies, being big men, the different arms they used, and the accoutrement they had, wearing white shirts, stitcht with red silk, upon their armour, made them terrible to the Scots at their first approaching to them: but after they had viewed each other a while, the Scots fell in upon them with a loud shout. The fight continued long face to face, with great fierceness, till that the Danes, oppressed by the vast numbers of the Scots, (who at the same time attacked them in the front and rear.) flung away their arms, and fled towards their trenches, many of them were killed by those who met them as they went thither; some taking the water were drowned, some got safe to the other side, and amongst them was Hubba their general, who, by his skill in swimming, did escape; others perished in the water, being carried down with the spate.

There is, not far from the place where this battle was struck, in a bauk to the south of Doctan, in Kinglassie parish, a pillar of hewn stone set on a pedestal; it is about five or six feet high, one foot thick, and two broad: the broad faces of it are to

the east and the west, and the figures are upon the side of it towards the east. The upmost part of it seems to have been done for a beast's head *prominent;* below it is the figure of a man on horseback, with like a scroll above him; it is but a small figure: the north, south, and west sides, have upon them only some ornamental carving; it is much defaced by the weather, and is torn in the top; no vestige of any letter could be discerned upon it. This is certainly Danish, and seems to have been set up where some chief commander was killed, whether at this fight, or at another which happened afterwards, near Kinghorn, is uncertain.

Not long after the fight at Leven water, there was another at Crail in the east nook, where the Scots, too confident of their power, were overthrown, and the king was taken and beheaded in a cove, now called the Devil's Cove, because of that black execution. This battle happened in 874. Buchanan says, "Some lay the blame of this unlucky accident on the Picts, who being admitted into Constantine's fealty and army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest part of the army after them." And Fordun says, "It was thought that the barbarous Picts, not yet completely subdued, privately invited them (the Danes) to Scotland, as indeed might seem probable from the event." And in another place, he saith, "The king engaging them fell with many of his people; nor is this to be wondered at, for he took with him to battle, like a serpent in his bosom, many of the Picts but lately subdued. And they flying as soon as the engagement began, induced the rest to follow them."

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PICTISH ANTIQUITIES,

WHICH REMAIN IN THE NORTHERN ISLANDS,

AND ON THE

CONTINENT OF SCOTLAND.

IF the Picts were of a Gothic extraction, as most authors suppose, the northern counties and islands were the places where they first settled, and where they ultimately retired to upon the total overthrow of their monarchy, and their incorporation with the Scotish nation. The more ancient monuments of Pictish antiquities are in Orkney, and the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross. We shall therefore extract from Barry's history of the Orkneys his description of the Pictish antiquities which remain in these islands.

The first of these we shall mention, are those tumuli, or barrows, which so often present themselves to the eye, in wandering over the surface of these islands; and which are plainly the rude memorials of persons of note in early days. The most ancient method of disposing of the dead was by interment. The earliest Greeks adopted this custom,

in which they were imitated by the Romans, in the infancy of their state. And the Celts, a very ancient people, seem also to have preferred this method; and, on the graves of illustrious persons, they gathered heaps of stones into a pile, which they called cairns, or cromlechs, to distinguish them from those of the multitude.

The remains of people of the same eminence among the Gothic tribes were treated in a different manner. Though their enemies and the inferior ranks were interred, the bodies of men of distinction were either wholly or in part consumed to ashes, which were carefully collected, either into an *urn*, or a coffin, formed generally of flag stones, and a heap of earth, or tumulus, was raised over them. Hence the number of these tumuli, or barrows, spread over the countries inhabited by the different branches of that ancient people in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, and the east coast of Scotland, as well as in Iceland and the Orkney isles. The numbers found here are considerable; seldom single, but two, or three, or more, in the same place, all of a circular form, and different in dimensions, placed without any distinction of hill or dale, by the sea, or inland, generally in dry places, and for the most part on sandy ground. Some few of them are encircled with stones set on edge around their bottoms; a remarkable one has two stones set upright on its top, and when curiosity has penetrated their interior, they are almost all found to exhibit contents in which there is much similarity. As in England, those that have been opened have discovered, some of them, urns with ashes; some stone

coffins, in which the bodies have been deposited; and some, naked skeletons; so here, also, when looked into, they have been found to contain the same things. But besides these, which are the principal, several other articles have some times been found along with them; such as the bones of some domestic animal, swords of metal, or of bone, helmets, combs, with other things, the use of which cannot now be discovered.

The eye can scarcely be directed to a field, in which these tumuli are situated in any number, without the opinion being formed, that this has been a field of battle, and these the graves of the brave that had been slain; the similarity of form, and difference of size, pointing out their respective rank, their merit, or their eminence. That these were the rude monuments exclusively appropriated to perpetuate the deeds of noted warriors, is rendered probable, not only from arms being found in them, but because among that people military virtues alone were deemed worthy of honour. Before closing this article, it is necessary to observe, that we ought not to confound these tumuli with those that are similar in almost every respect, but placed on the highest or most conspicuous part in every island. To convey intelligence readily from one place to another, and particularly to spread the alarm in case of the approach of an enemy, the latter were generally thrown up on the highest hill, and had fires of wood and other combustible matter lighted on them; and the name of *Warts*, or *Wards*, which they at present bear, has a manifest allusion to this circumstance.

To the same people perhaps, and about the same period, must be referred another class of objects, that in different places raise their lofty heads to arrest the attention of the curious. These are the huge standing stones, one or more of which may be seen in most of the islands. They are commonly from twelve to twenty feet in height above ground, their breadth five, and thickness one or more; and as the most of them seem, from the places in which they are erected, to have been carried from a considerable distance, it may justly excite wonder, how, in the ignorance of mechanical powers, this could be effected. Numbers, and perseverance united, will achieve deeds, to conceive which would baffle the efforts of imagination.

By whatever means they were brought, or in whatever manner erected, they are rude blocks of hard stone, of the same shape in which they were raised from the quarry, without any marks of an instrument, without carving, inscription, or hieroglyphics; they are plainly the monuments of an early age, when the people were ignorant of arts and letters.

For what purpose, or with what design they were erected, antiquity furnishes us with no account; records are silent; and tradition, to which recourse must be some times had, in the penury of other evidence, ventures not, in this case, to hazard an opinion.

Some have supposed them intended to mark the spot that contained the bones or the ashes of a beloved prince, a brave chieftain, or dear departed friend; or to serve as a boundary between the ter-

ritories of one great man, and those of another; while others have imagined them designed to preserve the remembrance of some noted event that concerned the safety, the honour, or the advantage of the community.

Since no tumuli, urns, or graves, have ever been found near them, they cannot certainly be considered as memorials of the dead; nor is it more probable that they were intended to mark the limits of contiguous proprietors; as land-marks, equally well calculated to serve the purpose, might have been erected with infinitely less labour. If, therefore, they were not intended so serve the purpose of places of worship, they were most likely raised to preserve the remembrance of some fortunate event, or perpetuate the memory of some noble action; and the rough simplicity of their appearance sufficiently justifies us in referring them to an early age, and to the first inhabitants of these islands.

A third kind of monuments, which ought to be considered as relics of the same people, are those ancient structures, or ruins, well known in many places by the name of Burghs-castles, or more commonly Picts-houses. Some times they stand in little holms in the midst of lochs, with a road formed of stones to connect them with the island; some times on high land by the sea, near the brink of precipitous rocks; but much oftener on the skirts of sandy bays, and in the vicinity of landing places. Encircling the shores of the main land, as well as those of the other islands, they stretch in a chain from one headland to another, in full view of the harbours,

and of the ocean; and are evidently so arranged as to communicate one with another. Far from being confined to any place, they are found, and that too in similar situations, in the country from which the Picts originally came, as well as in those that constituted their once extensive dominion. In proof of this it may be observed, that there is a remarkable one of that kind at Sualsburg, near Drontheim; another called the castle of Ymsburg, in Westrogothia. Many of them are still to be seen on the shores of Caithness, of Sutherland, and of East Ross. The vale of Glenelg, near Bornera, contains no fewer than four. The foundations of several have been discovered on a plain near Perth; and that of Dornadilla, in Strathnaver, is no less distinguished for its structure, than the very large one at Dunrobin castle, which seems to have within its precincts several smaller ones, its connexions or dependents. But turning from these, if we direct our attention to the north, with a view to explore the Pictish territories in that quarter, we shall find these ancient structures perhaps in greater number, but certainly more entire, of a more curious form, and of much larger dimensions. Those found in Shetland, and known every where in that country by the name of Burghs, are much superior in these respects to what are in the Orkneys, or even perhaps to any in Scotland. In the south, and in the east coast, there are but few of them now entire, having been demolished, partly from curiosity to know their structure and contents, and partly in order to carry off their materials to enclose lands or build farm-houses. But among the sister islands to

the north, where there has been no want of materials for these purposes, these curious edifices have been suffered to remain unhurt, in testimony of the respect that the inhabitants have entertained for the works of their ancestors.

They are almost, without exception, of a circular base, rising into the shape of a cone, with its top some what blunted; and as they are generally every where in ruins, their outside is covered with a thick sward of fine grass, and, on a superficial view, they have very much the appearance of large tumuli, or barrows. Stones of a convenient form, and of a large size, without any sort of cement, are the materials of which they have been constructed; and, on a more narrow inspection, they appear evidently to be of two kinds, differing from each other in both their structure and dimensions. The smaller, which seem to be the oldest, consist of one thick circular wall, in the inside of which there are some times places that might have served for beds; and this form, we are told, was agreeable to a mode of building among the people of Iceland, and other Scandinavian colonies. In some of them at a greater, and in others at a less height; this wall begins to converge gradually towards the top, till only a small hole remained, which seems to have been either covered with flat stones, or suffered to be open.

The larger are far more complicated in their internal structure. Besides the outer wall, which they have in common with the former, they have also an inner one, concentric with, and distant about two feet from the other; and these walls are so formed as some times to meet at no great height, and thus

enclose a space around the bottom of the building. In the form of others of this kind, there is still greater variety. Like the former, they have two walls, but these neither meet nor converge, but ascend parallel to each other at the distance of little more than two feet; and this space, which is entered by a door of two feet high from without, is occupied by a stair of a winding spiral form, from the bottom to the top of the building. The largest kind which are here, as well as in other places, denominated Burghs, are surrounded by a broad deep ditch, and a sort of rampart.

To one or other of these, it is probable, must belong that which has been discovered at Quanterness. As works of that nature have never been clearly understood, though they have excited much curiosity in men who take pleasure in studying the progress of the human mind, by looking back to early ages, the utmost attention has been given to examine that Picts-house with care, to measure its dimensions accurately, and to delineate the form of all its parts with precision. Situated on a gentle declivity, under the brow of the hill of Wideford, it looks towards the North Isles, has a full view of the bay of Frith, and the pleasant little island of Dansey, from which it is not far distant, and lies little more than a mile west from the road or harbour of Kirkwall. Like the rest, it bears externally the form of a truncated cone, the height of which is about fourteen feet, and the circumference at the base three hundred and eighty-four; but whether, like them also, it be surrounded by one or two circular walls, the quantity of rubbish prevented us

from discovering, though that it is so is very probable. In one respect it differs from most of them, as it stands alone and at a distance from the shore; whereas in general they are situated on the shores of the sea, and several of them at no great distance from and in full view of one another, as if they were some way or other connected, or had been intended for mutual communication.

Internally it consists of several cells or apartments, the principal one of which is in the centre, twenty-one feet six inches long, six feet six inches broad, and eleven feet six inches high, built without any cement, with large flat stones, the one immediately above projecting over that below, so as gradually to contract the space within as the building rises, till the opposite walls meet at the top, where they are bound together by large stones laid across, to serve as it were for key-stones. Six other apartments of an exactly similar form, constructed with the same sort of materials, and united in the same manner, but of little more than half the dimensions, communicate with this in the centre, each by a passage about two feet square, on a level with the floor; and the whole may be considered as connected together by a passage of nearly the same extent from without, which leads into this chief apartment. So far as can now be discovered, there does not appear ever to have been, in any part of the building, either chink or hole for the admission of air or light, and this circumstance alone is sufficient to show that it had not been destined for the abode of men. The contents were accordingly such as might have been naturally expected in such a gloomy mansion. None

of those things which have been discovered in similar places were found here; but the earth at the bottom of the cells, as deep as it could be dug, was of a dark colour, of a greasy feel, and of a fetid odour, plentifully intermingled with bones, some of which were almost entirely consumed, and others had, in defiance of time, remained so entire, as to show that they were the bones of men, of birds, and of some domestic animal. But though many of them had nearly mouldered into dust, they exhibited no marks of having been burnt; nor were ashes of any kind to be seen with any part of the building. In one of the apartments, an entire human skeleton, in a prone attitude, was found; but in the others, the bones were not only separated from one another, but divided into very small fragments.

But what use could be made, or what purpose was intended to be served, by piles of such a form, of such a size, and in such situations?

Neither the number of the whole, nor the quantity of accommodation in each, will suffer us to entertain any rational belief that they were the first rude attempts to obtain permanent places of abode, and served the inhabitants at large as ordinary habitations. Little better are they calculated, in appearance, to serve the purpose of storehouses, which indeed in that age would not be deemed necessary. That they were not the residence of the rich among that celebrated people, may be surmised from their darkness, from the want of windows from without, their dampness, on account of the thickness of the walls, and the air having less access or free circula-

tion; and particularly, because the apartments are so small, that a person could never stand, and indeed not even sit upright; and if this had not been the case, they do not contain room sufficient to accommodate such families, with their servants and dependents. It is true, indeed, a celebrated modern antiquary, to whose opinion, in a matter of this kind, we are disposed to pay the utmost deference, has imagined, that, from their being called Duns in the Highlands, and several of them being some times found together in glens, and sheltered places, they have been the winter retreats of the opulent; to which, in that season, they had recourse for mutual security, friendship, and conversation. But this could not have been the case in general, since in Shetland they commonly stood single, either on the high hills, or on the brink of stupendous rocks skirting the islands; and in Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney, at no great distance, and in full view of each other, on the shores and in exposed situations.

From a review, then, of their different sites, singly, and in relation to one another; their form, their dimensions, and internal structure; it is apprehended, they will appear to have been fit for, and perhaps served the purpose of watch towers, to guard against surprise from an enemy; of places to secure military arms, and other precious articles; and of garrisons, to prevent hostile boats from landing.

Such are the monuments of that ancient people, who have been characterised as a tall, fair, comely,

robust, generous, sort of men; with manners of such a nature and influence as to serve them instead of laws; discovering an ignorance of many of the useful arts, a love of some of them, and a contempt of others; subjected to a government, in which liberty and civil order were happily combined; and displaying a warlike spirit that had seldom been equalled, and never surpassed; which was inflamed almost into madness by the peculiar genius of their religion.

The remains of Pictish antiquities in Shetland are known by the name of Burghs, Borgs, and Duns. These buildings have engaged much of the attention of antiquarians, and their form and structure have been repeatedly described. They are arranged in such a manner as to keep up a line of communication almost over the whole country. They occur in every variety of situation; on the tops of hills, though seldom on the very highest of each range; on precipitous head-lands; on islands in the lakes, communicating by a bridge with the shore, and in bays near landing places. They are of a circular form, are built of smooth flat stones, without any cement; and the largest kind, which are by far the most numerous, are very commodious, and have various compartments. The smaller ones appear to have no entrance but from the top, which may have arisen, in some instances, from the demolition of their external walls. Some of these castles, as they are called, are comparatively of easy access, but others are fortified by walls, and surrounded both by wet and dry ditches of considerable extent.

The most perfect examples of these buildings still extant in Shetland, occur in the island of Mousa, and at Cullswick, in the parish of Sansting. These are very large, and appear to have been constructed with great care, and resemble exactly those burghs or castles which have been generally ascribed to the Picts. The one at Cullswick stands on the projecting eminence of a high rock, and is surrounded by a deep ditch. It has been sadly dilapidated of late, to obtain stones to build a house in a neighbouring parish, which has not only impaired the appearance of an ancient structure, but taken away an useful land-mark to vessels approaching the coast.

The castle in Mousa was in a state of perfect integrity about the year 1154, when it was occupied by Earl Erlend, and it is probable that it was built long before that time. The present proprietor of the island has been at great pains to preserve it entire, and it is still an interesting object.

There are several Pictish antiquities in the parish of Clyne, and county of Sutherland; in particular, a strongly fortified hill, on the south side of Loch Brora, called Craig Bar, which is esteemed almost impregnable by any force, even assisted by artillery. —Upon a rock in the black water of Strath Beg, about a mile and a half north from the junction of that water with Brora, stand the ruins of Coles Castle. It is a circular building, fifty-four yards in circumference round the base on the outside, and twenty-seven in the interior. The walls are four and a half yards thick at the base, built of large stones well connected, without any cement.

The building inclines nine inches in three feet inwards. The door on the south-east side is three feet and a half high, and two and a half broad. In the middle of the wall, on each side of the passage into the interior, is a small apartment six feet square, and five high, as if intended for a guard to watch the entry. The highest part of the wall is eleven feet, but old people remember it twice that height. Beyond this building, and six feet from the wall, is another outer wall, joined to the castle by large flags, leaving a passage six feet broad and seven high, in which their cattle were driven in the night time. On the verge of the rock was their garden, twenty-seven yards long and eighteen broad.

In the parish of Durness, in Strathnaver, is the famous Pictish tower called Dun Dornadilla, situated in the valley of Strathmore, in a remote and picturesque spot, full seven miles from the sea. It has been built like Coles Castle, and other edifices of the kind, without any cement, when the use of iron was unknown. It is built in the circular form, tapering in the outside like a sugar loaf, fifty yards in circumference externally, twenty-seven feet diameter in the interior, which is built perpendicular. It contains three distinct rows of apartments, which communicate by stairs, and are all lighted from within. The wall in some places is nearly thirty feet high, in others not above eighteen, the door has been six feet high, but one half of it is at present choked up with rubbish. This building is unquestionably the most ancient remain of antiquity in the island.

Another monument of antiquity, supposed to be Pictish, is situated on the north side of Cockburn Law, in Berwickshire. A little below the middle of the hill are the ruins of a very old building, called Woden's, or Edwin's hall. It consists of three concentric circles, the diameter of the innermost being forty feet, the thickness of the walls seven feet, and the spaces between the walls seven and ten feet. The spaces have been arched over, and divided into cells of twelve, sixteen, and twenty feet. It is remarkable in this structure, that the stones are not cemented by any kind of mortar. They are chiefly whinstone, and made to lock into one another with grooves and projections, executed with vast labour.

The round tower at Brechin, and that at Abernethy, are with great probability ascribed to the Picts. Antiquarians are divided in their opinion concerning them; some are of opinion, that they were erected for religious purposes, others, and we think with greater likelihood, suppose them to be intended for watch towers; and as both have only four windows at the top facing the cardinal points, that at Abernethy commanding a view of the Frith of Tay and the valley of Strathearn, and this one the valley of Strathmore, this conjecture is not altogether destitute of some probability. The tower of Brechin is a circular column, of great beauty and elegance, eighty feet high, and a kind of spire or roof twenty-three feet more, making the whole height one hundred and three, and the diameter sixteen feet. The building consists of eighty-four

courses of stone, not very regular however, some of them measure twenty-one, and others only nine inches; the fabric seems to have sustained very little injury from the lapse of years. The inside of this tower is quite empty; formerly, when the bells of the church were fixed in it, there was a kind of platform erected at intervals, which were ascended by ladders, but no staircase of any kind. The door of entrance is about six feet and a half from the ground, two feet wide, and six feet high; the two sides are formed of a block of granite, nearly in the middle of each stands a human figure, on a kind of bracket; the lintal is another block of granite, cut into a semicircular arch; over the centre stands another figure in a different drapery from the other two. The sole is another block of stone, on each side are the figures of two animals, with long claws and tail; that on the left hand seemingly in the act of devouring something. The whole entrance is ornamented with a border of diamond figures.

The tower at Abernethy is in the church-yard, and consists of sixty-four courses of hewn stone, seventy-four feet high, and forty-eight in circumference. It is hollow in the inside, and has no roof, but four small windows at the top, facing the cardinal points.

The only religious edifice of undoubted Pictish origin, is the chapel and tower of St. Regulus, or Rule, at St. Andrews. It is situated about forty yards to the south-east of the cathedral church, and the chapel and steeple are contiguous to one another, the former joining to the latter on the east

side. The chapel, of which the walls still remain entire, is in length thirty-one feet and a half, and in breadth twenty-five. It has four windows, two on the north side, and two on the south, exactly corresponding to one another, both in dimensions and distance from the ground. They are each about five feet by one and a half, and twelve high from the sole to the ground. There is a large arched door to the east, in the gable of the chapel, and directly opposite to it, in the steeple, there has been another door of the same dimensions, but which has been afterwards built up, and only a lesser one left of six feet high, by four in breadth. The two large doors just mentioned, are each of them twenty-four feet by nine.

The chapel has had, at different times, three several roofs, of different heights, as appears from the marks and raggling still observable on the side of the steeple to which it joins. It has been a neat little place, and well contrived for religious exercises on a small scale. It was ornamented, when entire, by a turret on its eastern gable, which, with its other decorations, has long since disappeared.

The steeple is a square prism of one hundred and eight feet in height, and the side of its base, without the walls, is twenty feet. It is said to have had formerly a small sloping spire, of no great height; but this is gone, and there is now a platform of lead on the top, surrounded by a parapet, high enough to render a visit to the summit of the steeple quite safe; and as the stairs are perfectly entire, and in good case, the stranger will be repaid for the fatigue

he may have in ascending them, (provided he does so in a clear day,) by the beauty and extent of the surrounding prospect. He will see delineated, as upon a map, the city and environs of St. Andrews, and he will get a most delightful view of the bay, and of the opposite coast of Angus. The steps by which we ascend are one hundred and fifty-two.

From the engravings on the common seal of the chapter of St. Andrews, as well as from the raggling still to be seen on the wall of the west side of the steeple, it appears that there has been also a small building on that side, less, however, and shorter, than that on the east; and the steeple, standing in the middle betwixt the two, formed one continued edifice with them.

This small chapel to the west has been considerably higher in the walls than the other; but there is now no vestige of it whatever to be seen, except the mark of its roof on the west side of the steeple. It is said to have likewise had a turret on the west end, and a door to the south.

It may not perhaps be amiss, before finally taking leave of the Picts, to say some thing of that wall or rampart, first raised by the Emperor Adrian, and afterwards repaired by Severus, generally known by the name of the Picts wall. This appellation it received from being intended as a bulwark against the inroads and encroachments of these barbarous invaders. It extended from a place called Bowness on the Solway firth, across the whole island, from sea to sea, to a place called Wallsend, below Newcastle, on the German ocean, being in length about

eighty miles. It consisted of a ditch in front, and a wall of earth, or stones, twelve feet high and eight broad.

But this structure, however, was not able to stop the incursions of the enemy; for no sooner had the Romans left Britain, but the Picts and Scots surprise them, make an attempt upon the wall, pull down the guards with their crooked weapons, break through the fortifications, make a strange havock of Britain, which was before almost ruined with civil wars, and a most grievous famine. Gildas, a Briton, who lived not long after, describes the deplorable calamities of those times in these words: "The Romans being drawn home, there descend in great crowds from the little narrow bores of their *Caroghes*, or *Carts*, * wherein they were brought over the Stitick Vale, † about the middle of summer, in a scorching hot season, a duskish swarm of vermin, or hideous crew of Scots and Picts, somewhat different in manners, but all alike thirsting after blood; who finding that their old confederates (the Romans) were marched home, and refused to return any more, put on greater boldness than ever, and possessed themselves of all the north and the remote parts of the kingdom, to the very wall, as if they were the true native proprietors. To withstand this invasion, the towers (along the walls) are defended by a lazy garrison, undisciplined, and too cowardly to engage an enemy; being enfeebled with

* The Highlanders call their boats Caroghes.
† Supposed to be the Solway Frith.

continual sloth and idleness. In the mean while, the naked enemy advance with their hooked weapons, by which the miserable Britons are pulled down from the tops of the walls, and dashed against the ground. Yet those who were destroyed thus, had this advantage in an untimely death, that they escaped those miserable sufferings which immediately befel their brethren and children. To be short, having quitted their cities and the high wall, they betook themselves to flight, disbanding into a more desperate and hopeless dispersion than ever. Still the enemy gave them chase, still more cruel punishments were prepared; as lambs by the bloody butcher, so were these poor creatures hewed down by their enemies. So that they may justly, by their stay there, be compared to herds of wild beasts; for these miserable people did not stick to rob one another for supply of victuals; so that in-bred dissentions enhanced the misery of their foreign sufferings, and brought things to that pass by this spoil and robbery, that meat (the support of life) was wanting in the country, and no comfort of that kind to be had, but by recourse to hunting."

That part of the wall where the Picts and Scots commenced their attack, was on the borders of Northumberland, betwixt the river Irthing and South Tyne, and is still called Thirlwall, from its being *Thirled* or pierced in many places by these invaders. The mode of attack is thus described by Fordun: "The Picts and Scots having conquered the country on both sides of the wall, began to settle themselves in it; and summoning in the boors, (with

their mattocks, pick-axes, rakes, forks and shovels,) caused wide holes and gaps to be made in it, thro' which they might readily pass and repass. From these gaps, this indented part got its present name; for, in the English tongue, the place is now called Thirlwall, which rendered in Latin, is the same as *Murus perforatus.*"

Thus we have seen the manner how the Picts invaded South Britain, as far as the Humber, and were found in England, as we have shown elsewhere, even in the time of William the Conqueror.

THE END.

Glasgow: Printed by R. Chapman.—1818.

THE

ABRIDGEMENT,

OR

SUMMARIE OF THE SCOTS CHRONICLES,

WITH

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THEIR ORIGINALL, FROM THE COMMING OF GATHELUS, THEIR FIRST PROGENITOR, OUT OF GRÆCIA INTO EGYPT; AND THEIR COMMING INTO PORTINGALL, SPAINE; AND OF THEIR KINGS AND GOVERNOURS IN SPAINE, IRELAND, AND ALBION, NOW CALLED SCOTLAND, (HOWBEIT THE WHOLE NUMBER ARE NOT EXTANT,) WITH A TRUE CHRONOLOGIE OF ALL THEIR KINGS,

THEIR

REIGNES, DEATHS, AND BURIALS,

FROM FERGUSIUS, THE FIRST KING OF SCOTLAND, UNTILL HIS ROYALL MAJESTIE, NOW HAPPILY RAIGNING OVER GREAT BRITTAINE AND IRELAND, AND ALL THE ISLES TO THEM APPERTAINING;

WITH

A true description of the whole realme of Scotland, and of the principall Cities, Townes, Abbies, Fortes, Castles, Towers, and Rivers, and of the commodities in every part thereof, and of the Isles in general; with a memoriall of the most rare and wonderfull things in Scotland.

BY JOHN MONIPENNIE.

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By Robert Chapman.

1820.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY MONARCH

JAMES,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

It may bee by many justly (most gracious Soveraigne) imputed to mee for no small presumption to present unto your Royal Majestie, a Prince of so great learning and excellent judgement, these simple fruits of my unskilfull endeavours, taken in this short abridgement: In most humble and obedient manner, I doe preferre unto your Highnesse these my weake and unlearned labours, according to my abilitie, which, though unworthie they bee of so great a princely favour, as well for the meannesse of mee the writer, as for the plainnesse and rudenesse of the stile, yet if for the worthinesse of the matter, and of your Majesties great accustomed clemencie, you vouchsaf them your Highnesse favourable regard, they shall bee as fortunate as if they had beene composed by greater and more learned men; wherein briefly may be seene the great and infinit mercie of God towards your Royal Person; that it hath pleased his superexcellent wisdome, by his mightie power to preserve your Highnesse ancient kingdome of Scotland unconquered, under the empyre and government of an hundreth and sixe kings, your Majesties royal progenitors; and in special when almost the whole world was brought under the Romane empyre by the sword. Also to reduce in one peaceable monarch these ancient mightie lands and many islands, which

have been divided in many severall kingdomes, one of Britons, seven of Saxons, one of Scots, one of Picts, one of Orknay, and sixe of Ireland; also some of the valiant and illustre noble actes of your Highnesse most royall and ancient progenitors, and of their raignes, lives, deaths, and burials. Accept them, most Mightie Monarch, I most humblie beseech your Royal Majesty, in your Highnesse gracious protection, and according to my bounden dutie, incessantly, with all humilitie, I will pray the great God of all might and power (to his eternall glory) long to preserve your Royall Majestie, and your gracious Queene, in blessed health and peace, to raigne over these your Highnesse great united kingdomes, and to enlarge the same, and your Majesties most royall and hopefull posteritie to the world's end.

Your Majesties most humble

And obedient subject,

J. MONIPENNIE.

THE

ABRIDGEMENT,

OR

SUMMARIE OF THE SCOTTISH CHRONICLES,

With a short description of their originall, from the comming of Gathelus, their progenitour, out of Græcia into Egypt, and of their kings and governours in Spaine, Ireland, and Albion, (howbeit the whole number be not extant): with a true chronologie of all the kings lineally descended from Fergusius, the first king of Scotland, untill his sacred Majestie, now happily raigning over all Great Britaine, Ireland, and all the Isles to them appertaining.

GATHELUS, son of Cecrops, king of Athens, by his insolence made many invasions in Macedonia, and Achaia in Græcia. And because he could not suffer correction, hee with many valiant Grecians came into Egypt, and followed Pharao in his warres against the Aethiopians, who with great crueltie had wasted the most part of Egypt, unto Memphis, the principall citie of that realme. Pharao, with support of Gathelus, vanquished and overcame the Aethiopians in a most dangerous battell. And Gathelus valiantly vanquished and wanne their principall citie, called Meroe. After

this great victorie, he being a lustie person, strong of bodie, and of a great spirit, wanne great favour with the king and his familiars, that the king's daughter, Scota, was given in marriage unto Gathelus, with many lands. Shortly after, Pharao dyed, and another Pharao succeeded, who opprest the Israelites with great servitude and tyrannie. Gathelus abhorring such crueltie, conferring with Moses, also having response of the oracles of Egypt, was foreseene of the plagues to come upon Egypt, made provision for all things necessarie for sayling, and tooke shipping with his wife Scota and his valiant Grecians, and many Egyptians, from the river Nilus, the year of the world 2453. After long sayling and travell, hee arrived at the land of Numidia: being stopped to land, he pulled up sayles, and with a dangerous and painefull passage through the Straites, hee landed in one part of Spaine, then called Lusitania, by his arrival called Portgathel, now Porthingall: at his landing, the old inhabitants came against him with arrayed battell, whom he vanquished. He builded one city upon the river Munda, then called Brachare, now called Barsolona. Then after, he came into the north part of Spaine, now called Gallicia, where he builded a citie called Brigance, now Compostella, where he reigned with princely dignitie, and instituted lawes, and named his people Scottes, after his wife Scota, for she had borne unto him two sonnes, twinnes, Hiber and Himecus. He brought with him from Egypt the marble fatall chayre, which was transported to Ireland, and to Albion, now called

Scotland, wherein all their kings were crowned, untill the time of king Edward the first, who transported the whole ancient regall monuments of Scotland, with the marble fatall chayre, to Westminster, where it remaineth to this day.

The Scots shall brooke that realme as native ground,
(If weirds faile not) where ever this chayre is found.

Gathelus sitting in his marble chayre, within this city of Brigance, governed his people with princely dignity peaceablie, and instituted lawes. And seeing his people increase with such great multitude, and not willing to violate the band made with the old inhabitants; being informed by divers expert explorators, that there was an isle opposite to Spaine, on the north, which a rude people inhabited, having no lawes nor manners: therefore he brought all the shippes he could get with expedition to the next sea port, with sufficient provision, with Hiber and Himecus, accompanied with valiant warriours, and ordained Hiber to be admirall to possesse the said isle, which they obeyed; and so hoysing up sayle, with fortunate winds, arrived the fifth day after in the said island. Immediately landing, their people then pitched their tents on the next trenches. The rude inhabitants, amazed at the arriving and landing of such a multitude of warriours, fled with their cattell and goods into their cavernes. Hiber commanding certaine of his war-

riours to passe foorth, and if the inhabitants would bee willingly subdued, no slaughter to be committed upon them. The inhabitants being brought as prisoners to the admirall, and seeing him merciful, rendred themselves and their goods; and hee received them with such benevolence, that he suffered the old inhabitants to increase with his people, under one name and law, and called the land Hibernia, now Ireland. Hiber turning into Spaine, left his brother Himecus with a strong garison of valiant warriours, with wives and children, to inhabite the land, and to hold the same under obedience and subjection. At his return into Spaine, his father being deceased, hee succeeded king, and augmented his empyre, and conquered sundry lands from the Spaniards, having with him at all times a strong guard of valiant men. By his puissance and chivalrie, he subdued the people in such maner, that he was holden in great estimation and reverence, that they were constrained to seeke his peace, the land beeing named after Hiber, Hibernia; the Scots and old inhabitants grew under one name and blood, with such tender and friendly benevolence, (not remembering of old injuries,) each one willing to defend his neighbour, (as well in peace as wars,) as his brother or father. Of Hiber descended, by long progression, a great posteritie lineally succeeding, amongst whom were many noble and famous kings; howbeit, the whole number of them are not extant.

Himecus governed Ireland in great felicitie, justice, and tranquillity, both the Scots and the

old inhabitants, during his life time. Immediately after his decease, arose an odious controversie betweene the Scots and the old inhabitants, for the government, every nation contending to have a governoure of their owne blood, which contention enduring long time, at last they created two governours, betweene whom were continual battells and great slaughter on either side, through ambition and burning desire to be sole governour of all Ireland. After long and dangerous battells, the two people, broken with sundry displeasures, were constrained to take peace; howbeit, the same endured but a short time, each one of them pursuing other with battell, and yet they dwelt many yeares together, by interchange of peace and warres, while at the last the Scots suffering many injuries, sent their ambassador to Metellius, who was then king of Scots in Spaine, desiring to have support against the old inhabitants of Ireland, declaring them to be a rude wild people, impatient to suffer any empire above them, so that the Scots can have no tranquillitie, unlesse the said people were the more speedily tamed and subdued. This foresaid message was the more acceptable to the King Metellius, for it concerned the commonwealth both of the Scots nation in Spaine and Ireland, descending (by long progression) of one lineage and blood, and willingly satisfying the aforesaid ambassadour's request, trusting the same to be no lesse honor and glory to himselfe, as profit to his friends. Therefore, the king sent his three sonnes, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hibert, with a great armie of valiant men, into

Ireland, where they with right dangerous battells vanquished the old inhabitants, and brought them under subjection. Hermoneus returning into Spaine, left his two brethren to governe the land, who governed the same long time after in great tranquillitie and justice, instituting lawes, and instructed the priests to make incense and sacrifice in the same maner as the Egyptians used; so both the people increased many yeares in great felicitie, peace, and riches, during the government of Ptolomeus and Hibert, and long after their decease. But too great prosperitie engendreth evil maners, and causeth men to work often displeasures upon themselves, finding no forraigne enemies to invade them at home. The people after long peace were divided for the government, contending for the same with great rigour and slaughter on both sides, untill the one had almost utterly destroyed the other, if they had not beene reconciled by a nobleman named Thanaus, principall ambassadour sent by the king then raigning over the Scots in Spaine, (rejoycing of the felicitie succeeding to his friends,) and to cause them by his prudent consultation, to increase together under one minde. Thanaus being a prudent man, bearing neutrall affection to both the parties, perswaded them at sundrie conventions to remove all contention, and to elect one (whom they thought most expedient) to bee their king, and to bee obedient to him in all their government. Through the perswasion, the whole people had such fervent desire to have a king, that all old injuries being forgotten, they appoynted

Thanaus to elect a king, whom hee thought most expedient, and hee, seeing their minds willing to have a neutrall king, declaring to them that there was in Spaine a noble prince, of great severitie and justice, named Simon Brek, well accustomed with their lawes, and lineally descended from the ancient King Metellius, whom he thought most fittest to be their king. The whole people hearing the name of Simon Brek, were well content to have him their king, because that name was esteemed verie fortunate in those dayes. Then after, with the consent of the whole people, ambassadours were sent into Spaine to request the said Simon to come into Ireland to bee their king. Hee knowing by grave advisement the intent of the ambassadours, provided a great fleete of shippes, with all things necessarie; and finally, by prosperous winds arrived in Ireland, where hee was solemnly received, and crowned in the chayre of marble, which hee brought out of Spaine, esteemed as a most rich jewell in those days; from the beginning of the world 3314; from the flood of Noah 1658; from the building of Rome 102; before the birth of Christ 651. Hee reigned with great felicitie peaceably fourty yeares, being specially counsailled by the aforesaid Thanaus, to whom he gave sundrie lands, lying in the south part of Ireland, beside the river Birsus, which lands are now called Dowdall, where hee dwelt with the people hee brought with him out of the famous citie Brigance, now called Compostella: They were called Brigandes, of whom after, by processe of time, descended many va-

liant and noble men, who came with Fergusius the first king in Scotland, by whom all the lands now called Galoway, were then called Brigance, whose inhabitants were ever full of manhood, and strongest enemies against Romanes, Britaines, and Pictes. Simon deceased, his sonne Fanduf succeeded king; after Fanduff succeeded Ethion; after Ethion succeeded Glaucus; after Glaucus succeeded Nathasil; after Nathasil succeeded Rothesay.

Rothesay was the first king that brought Scots with him in Albion. The first isle that hee inhabited, he called after his own name, Rothesay, the remnant isles were called Hebrides, after Hiber, the eldest sonne of Gathelus. Rothesay hearing of the death of his father Nathasil, he returned into Ireland, and was there crowned king. The yeare that Scots were brought out of Ireland into Albion, was from the empyre of Simon Brek in Ireland, 216 years; from the beginning of the world 3530. The Scots spread in sundry parts of Albion, lying farre north, and inhabited many isles. The first part that they tooke possession of was named Ardgael, from Gathelus, which now is called Ardgile. They being divided into sundry tribes, elected certaine captaines to every tribe, to governe them both in peace and warre, having the name of their captaine in great reverence, swearing by their names; which custome was long observed in those isles and the high lands. Then after about 150 yeares, a banished people named Pictes, came forth of Denmarke to search a dwelling place, and after they

were inhibited to land in France, Britaine, and Ireland. They landed in Albion, first in Orknay, of olde called the olde realme of the Picts. The seas betwene Orknay and Caithnes is called Pentland Firth, and the lands now called Louthean, (was of old called Pentland,) after the name of the Picts. Then after they came into Caithnes, Ros, Murray, Merns, Angus, Fiffe, and Louthean, and expelled all the olde inhabitants. They were a civill people, right ingenuous and crafty both in peace and warres. After their planting in the aforesaid parts, they elected a king to governe them, and hold them in justice, and made great policy in building of munitions, townes, and castles. And because they knew all people without issue to succeede, should perish, they sent their ambassadours to the Scots, to have their daughters in marriage, showing (though they were of strange blood) they should not be so smally regarded, seeing they with no lesse prudence than manhood, have sustained incredible dangers both by sea and land; and now lately conquered (through the benevolence of the gods) right plenteous lands, with such peace and tranquillitie, that no other people may claime them by reason: trusting surely (if gods support them), by their owne industrie to be equall to any of their neighbours, both in peace and warres. Further, if the Scots condescended to their honourable desires, it might be, they increasing together, (so strong under one blood,) that they might resist the fury of their enemies the better, when it hapned them to be invaded. This ambassage was not pleasan

to the Scots at the first, thinking it unworthie to have any society or marriage with an unknowne and banished people: but by grave advisement, and being profoundly resolved, and finding themselves as yet not able to resist the force of the Britons, their old enemies, they determined to give their daughters to the Picts in marriage, and to have a band of peace with them, with conditions that everie one of them shall enjoy the lands which pertained unto them before the marriage, and to concur together with the whole puissance, as oft as they were invaded by enemies. Any that did offence to any of them, should be reputed as enemies to them both. And as oft as the crowne of the Picts should come in question for lack of an heire, the king to bee elected of the nearest of the woman's blood. These conditions accepted on all sides, the Scots gave their daughters in marriage to the Picts. The Britons suspecting this marriage, and dreading the increasing of this confederat people under one blood in short time, that neither might the Britons for the time present, nor their posteritie, resist the puissance of these two united people. Therefore, being minded to destroy them both, and to invade them with fraudulent slights, rather than with any force of battell; and sending their ambassadours to the Picts, allured the Picts to violate their band with the Scots. By this perswasion and craftie dealing of the Britons, the band was dissolved; and moving occasion of battell against the Scots, commanded by generall edict, no Scots to be found in their bounds at a prefixed day, under paine of

death. The day being expired, all Scots within their bounds were killed without mercie, as breakers of their lawes. The Scots, impatient to sustaine such injuries, killed as many of the Picts; so there followed continuall killing and murther on all sides, not regarding affinitie, blood, time, nor place. In this maner the peace dissolved, the Picts denounced battell to the Scots; then after followed continuall incursions and invasions on either parties. The Scots assembling in Ardgile, were sufficiently resolved, that the battell that they were to hold, was not only against the Picts, but also against the Britons. Therefore it was agreed to send their ambassadours to their ancient progenitors and friends in Ireland, to have their support and counsell in this most dangerous matter: and for that pluralitie of captaines, (as often occurreth,) raiseth sedition, the best is to elect one to have empyre above the rest, by whose manhood and counsell they might defend their lives and liberties, against a false and perjured people, invading them without any occasion. The ambassadours being directed to Ireland, complained of the wicked offence done by the Picts, and desired support.

Ferquardus, (then being king of the Scots in Ireland,) greatly moved for the displeasure done to his friends in Albion, sent his sonne Fergusius, a wise and valiant prince, with many valiant souldiers; and to give them the more esperance and assurance of permanent and good fortune, he sent with them the fatall marble chayre. Fergusius was the more pleasantly received by the Scots of

Albion, because their commonwealth approached to great danger, by a most perilous apparent battell. Then after a counsell was called in Ardgile, where Fergusius made a large oration and acceptable speech. Therefore, by grave consultation, they condescended to be governed by the empyre of one king, as well in peace as in any trouble appearing against their enemies. Furthermore, to remove all suspicion of hatred, (because everie tribe desired a king of their owne linage,) they elected Fergusius, both for his noble blood, and other his excellent vertues, to be their king. Moreover, he was so approved in martiall deeds and justice, that no captaine of the tribes might be any ways compared unto him.

1. Fergusius, the first king of Scots (in Albion, now called Scotland), son to Ferquhard, king of Ireland, was crowned in the fatall marble chayre which he brought with him, (by respons of the gods,) to establish his reign in Scotland; the year from the creation of the world 3641; before the coming of Christ 330; in the first year of the 112 Olimpiad; in the 421 year after the building of Rome; about the beginning of the fourth monarchy, when Alexander the Great vanquished Darius, the last monarch of Persia, in the reign of King Chimarus, king of Britons. The king employed his whole mind to resist the injury of this battell moved by the Picts; he calling all the captaines, ordained them to bee prepared with forty dayes provision, to passe with him: he made an agreement and concord amongst all his nobles and captaines, commanding his people

to be obedient to their captaines, hee making sacrifice to his gods, (as the custome was,) praying the gods to take vengeance of the partie that was the first occasion of battell against other, and to grant him felicitie in his just defence, that victory might succeed to him without any great damage of his people. The Picts assembled an army, with many Britons concurring to their support, appeared on either side a wicked and unnatural battell betweene two confederate people, friends, fathers, and sonnes. The Picts came first into the Scots lands, against whom, with no lesse courage than manhood, the king with his valiant Scots, with aneient armes displayed in forme of a banner, in which was a red lion rampant, in a field of gold. Whilst the Scots and Picts were in array in each others sight, the armie of Britons stood in array also, devising what way they might destroy them both; with firme purpose, when the Scots and Picts were vanquished, the one by the other, that the party victorious should utterly be destroyed by their fresh armie; and when both these peoples were destroyed by this slight, the Britons might enjoy both their realmes in Albion without any impediment. This subtill slight was discovered to King Fergusius by a banished Briton; through which both the armies, moved no lesse by fear of enemies, than by their owne proper damage, prolonged the battell certaine dayes. King Fergusius desired communication with the king of the Picts, who willingly, with some of his nobles, had communication a long time together: after long conference and deliberat consultation

with their counsellers on both parties, and ruthfull crying of the Picts' wives, being the Scots' daughters, peace was finally concluded betweene the two confederat people, under these conditions, redresse of all injuries being made on all parties. The Britons (movers of this battell) shall be reputed as enemies to them both, all other charges to be at the pleasure and will of the two kings. And when any enemy occurred, that they and their people should conjoyne together under one minde and ordinance. This peace being more strongly corroborat, the kings returned home. King Fergusius, in a most dangerous battell, assisted by the Picts, vanquished the Britons, which time King Coyl, or Chimarus, (unwarilie keept by his nobles,) was killed in the land after his name, then called Coyl, now Kyle, in Scotland. After this victorie, the king called his whole nobles and subjects to a generall convention, and hee making a large and plausible oration and speech, the nobles and subjects condescended and agreed, that King Fergusius and his posteritie shoulde possesse the crowne of Scotland; whereupon charters and evidences were granted to him and his successors for ever.

The kingdome of Scotland being confirmed to King Fergusius, his heires and successors, with deliberat counsell of his nobles, hee divided the whole lands then inhabited by the Scots, amongst his nobles and captaines of the tribes, by lots or cavils. The first lot chanced or fell unto Cornath, captaine, and his tribe; viz. the lands of Caithnes, lying over against Orknay, betweene

Dunnisby and the river of Thane. Secondly, to Captaine Lutork, the lands betweene the water of Thane and Nesse, now called Ros. This Lutork came with a band of valiant men out of Ireland, with King Fergusius, into Albion. This land of Ros lyeth in breadth from Cromartie, to the water of Lochtie. In this countrie was the famous castle of Urquhart, of which the ruinous walles remaine in great admiration. Thirdly, the Captaine Warroch, the lands lying betweene Spey and Nesse, from the Almaine to the Irish seas; the people inhabitants of this part (after their captaine) were called Wars, being seditious, they were expelled, and the Murrayes possessed the land, and called the same land Murray land. Fourthly, to Captaine Thalis, the lands of Boyne, Aynie, Bogewell, Gariot, Farmartyn, and Bowquhan, These lands were then called under one name, Thalia, by the name of their captaine. Fiftly, to Captaine Martoch, all the lands of Marre, Badzenoth, and Lochquhaber. The sixt, to Captaine Novance, the lands of Lorne and Kyntier, with the high places and mountaines thereof, lying from Marre to the Irish seas. The seventh to Atholus, the lands of Athole, for he was descended of the Scots of Spaine, and came out of Spaine into Ireland, and with Fergusius hee came into Scotland. The eight to Creones and Epidithes, two captaines of the tribes, the lands of Strabrawne and Braidawane, lying west from Dunkeld. The ninth to Captaine Argathelus, the lands of Ardgile, his people were named Arga-

theles, from Gathelus, their first progenitor, but now they are called men of Ardgile. The tenth to Captaine Lolgonas, the land of Levenox and Cliddisdale. The eleventh to Captaine Silurch, the land of Siluria, which region is now divided into Kyle, Carrike, and Cunningham; the inhabitants were right ingenious and strong. The twelfth to the Brigandes, the lands of Brigance, now called Galloway.

King Fergusius, after the dividing of these lands, instituted lawes to represse vice; hee builded the castle of Berigone in Lochquhaber. He past the remnant of his dayes in good peace with the Britons and Picts. At the last hee was elected as judge arbitrall to discerne upon certaine high controversies chancing amongst his friends in Ireland. He, accompanied with certaine of his nobles, past into Ireland, and pacified them of all matters: returning home, by a verie dangerous tempest, perished with all his nobles that were in his company, upon a rock in the sea called after his name Craigfergus, the five and twentie yeare of his reign. In his reign was Morindus, king of Britons, and Cruthneus Camelon, king of Picts, who builded upon the water of Carron the city of Camelon, the principall and strongest city of the Picts, which resisted the Romans and Britons, untill that Kenneth, king of Scotland, (who exiled the Picts out of Albion,) brought it unto utter subversion. This Cruthneus Camelon builded also the towne and castle of Edinburgh, some time called the Maiden Castle, for all the noble young

women of the Picts were nourished and learned in all skilfull labour of their hands, untill they were ready to marry.

Fergusius departed this present life, as aforesaid, a convention was holden by the nobles for electing of a king. After a long disputation and reasoning, it was concluded by plain consent of parliament, and enacted, when it hapned their king to decease, and having heires begotten of his bodie, being children, the nearest of the king's blood, and fittest to doe justice, shall possess the crowne for his time: after his death, the king's sonne shall succeed to the crowne without impediment, if he were able thereto. By the same act it was prohibited children to be kings. This custome endured long time, which raised much discord in the realme of Scotland, for the father's brother raigning in the minority of his nephew, cast the chiefest business to destroy him, and likewise the nephew, to the father's brother, for ambition to the crowne, through which occurred continuall killing of kings and nobles, to the great damage of the realme and commonwealth.

2. Feritharis, brother to Fergusius, by the aforesaid act, began his reign in the year of the world 3666; before the coming of Christ 305; from the beginning of the reign of Scotland, 26 yeares. He was a good king, and severe justicer, and was willing to have discharged himself of the kingdom, in favour of Ferlegus, eldest sonne to his brother Fergusius, which his nobles would not condescend unto, because of the statute and act of parliament

lately made, which continued untill the time of the reign of King Kenetus the third, almost 1205 yeares. He was killed by the aforesaid Ferlegus, the fifteenth year of his reign. Ferlegus, the murtherer, and all others participant with him, being banished, were fugitives among the Picts; and finding no securitie of his life, hee past into Briton, where he spent the rest of his dayes in great misery.

3. Mainus, King Fergusius' second sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 3680; before Christ 291; after the beginning of the reign 41. Hee was a noble king, a good justicer, for hee exercised justice aires for repressing of trespassors, and ratified the old league with Crinus, king of Picts, holding good peace with his confederates and Britons. He died peaceably the nine and twentieth year of his reign.

4. Dornadilla succeeded his father Mainus, in the year of the world 3709; before Christ 262; after the beginning of the reign 70. He was a good king, and confirmed peace with the Picts and Britons. He delighted greatly in hunting, races, and hounds, made certaine lawes profitable for hunting, which were observed many yeares after. He died peaceably the eight and twentieth year of his reign.

5. Nothatus succeeded his brother Dornadilla, (whose sonne Rewther was a child, not able to governe by virtue of the foresaid statute,) the year of the world 3738; before Christ 233; after the beginning of the reign 98. He was an ava-

ritious cruell tyrant. Hee was killed by Dowall, one of his nobles, captaine of the Brigandes, the twentieth year of his reign.

6. Reutherus, Dornadilla his sonne, succeeded the year of the world 3758; before Christ 213; after the reign 118. Hee being young, (assisted by Dowall,) raised great contention by the perswasion of Ferquhart, captaine of Kintire and Lorne, (cousin to Nothatus the tyrant late killed,) a man of subtill wit, and having great ambition to the crowne. Betwene the aforesaid parties there were cruell warres. Ferquhart being fugitive in Ireland, returned, being assisted with many Irishmen, with the inhabitants of Kintire, Lorne, Ardgile, Caithnes, Murray, and with a great armie. Dowall resisting, came with a great power, (accompanied with the young king, and the king of the Picts,) and many other his friends. There was a cruell battell and killing of chieftaines and nobles on both parties: The king of Picts, with many of his nobles, pitifully killed. Reutherus, the young king, pursued and taken at the castle of Calender. By this unhappy battell was such terrible slaughter, that neither Scots nor Picts were left living sufficient to inhabite their realmes, nor to withstand their enemies. Afterwards the Scots and Picts were most cruelly invaded by the Britons, and a great multitude killed, the rest exiled. King Reutherus and his people past into Ireland, and the Picts past into Orknay. King Reutherus returning from Ireland, and the Picts with their King Gethus returning from Orknay, they gave battell to the king of Britons, and obtaining vic-

tory by the high and soveraigne manhood, and valiantnesse of the foresaid King Reutherus: the Britons rendred all the forts, landes, and townes, pertaining to the Scots and Picts, with faithfull promise never to return to invade them in time coming. This peace being concluded, the Scots, Picts, and Britons, continued in great tranquility many yeares after. The king enduring the rest of his dayes, had good peace, and died the sixe and twentieth year of his reign.

7. Rheuda succeeded his brother Reutherus in the year of the world 3784; before Christ 187; after the beginning of the reign 144. He was a good king, he caused sepultures to be made for noble and valiant men; he brought artificers into his realme, and instituted sundry good lawes. In his time came certaine orators, philosophers, from King Ptolomeus of Egypt, who were pleasantly received and well entertained, because they were descended of the Egyptians his ancient forefathers. These orators did write and consider the situation of the hilles, mountaines, vallies, rivers, loches, frithes, isles, townes, and forts, within the realme of Scotland, and the lands thereto pertaining, as also to the Picts. He reigned peaceably sixteene yeares, and resigned the crowne to Thereus, sonne to King Reutherus.

8. Thereus, Reutherus' sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 3799; before Christ 171; after the reign 158. Hee appeared in the first sixe monthes to be a vertuous prince; but after, he became an unwise cruell tyrant. Therefore, being degraded of all honor, he was exiled, and Conan,

captaine of the Brigandes, elected to be governor, who governed the realme peaceably during the exile of Thereus, who died in the citie of York in misery, the twelfth year of his reign.

9. Josina succeeded his brother Thereus, the year of the world 3810; before Christ 161; after the reign 170. Hee was a peaceable and good king, ratifying peace with his confederates the Picts, and also with the Britons. He was a good medecinar and herbestar. In his time were brought to his presence in Berrigone, two venerable philosophers, pleasant of visage, almost naked, being priests of Spaine, passing from Portingall to Athens, and by unmerciful tempest, were ship broken at Ros, their ship and companie, with mariners, all perished, they only saved. After refreshing and good entertainment, the king desired and demanded of them what they understood by their science, of the nature of the ground of Scotland. After good and deliberat advisement, (so far as they might conjecture,) there was more riches and profit to be gotten within the veins of the earth of Scotland, than above, for it was given more to the winning of mines and mettals, than any production of corn. They knew this by the influence of the heavens. Also they learned the people to worship only God the Creator, prohibiting them to make sacrifice (as the custome was), to Isis and Apis, the gods of the Egyptians, but only to make their sacrifice, prayers, and adoration, in their temples (without any imagery), to the eternall God, Creator of heaven and earth, which the people for the most part observed long

time. King Josina being a vertuous prince, died in peace the twentie-fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Berigone.

10. Finnanus succeeded his father Josina, the year of the world 3834; before Christ 137; after the reign 194; a wise and vertuous king, a good justicer, with advice of his nobles, rewarding them honourably after their deservings, winning the hearts of his people, ruled with great felicitie, increasing in riches. He did institut prelates and clerkes to bee in the Isle of Man, instructing noblemen's children in their youth. This vertuous king married his sonne Durstius, with Agafia, daughter to the king of Britons. Hee wan great favour among them; he visited the king of Picts, who was vexed with a vehement fever in Camelon. Hee died there the thirtieth year of his reign, and was brought to Berigone, and there buried among the sepultures of his progenitors.

11. Durstius succeeded his father Finnanus, the year of the world 3864; before Christ 107; from the beginning of the reign 224. Hee was a cruel and trayterous tyrant, killed in battell by his nobles, the ninth year of his reign.

12. Evenus *primus*, succeeded his brother Durstius, the year of the world 3873; before Christ 98; after the reign 133; a wise, just, and vertuous king. Hee was the first that caused his nobles and subjects to give the oath of fidelitie. Hee executed justice severly in all parts of his realme. At length there came ambassadours from the Picts, showing that the Britons were in armour, purposing to besiege their city Camelon. The

king, to assist his confederate friends, came with expedition against the Britons. Scots and Picts went forward with great courage: the Britons with no lesse audacity on the other part: followeth a very dangerous battell with uncertaine victory, untill the night severed them. The confederate kings seeing their army broken, retired in the night. The Britons so broken, and despairing of new support, retired in the same maner as discomfited people; their campe standing with their carriage. The confederate people advertised hereof, returned and parted the spoyle by custome of armes. The king returned to Berigone, rewarded their friends that were slaine in the battell, and promoted others to publick offices, some with riches and goods, and the rest of his dayes he was a severe justicer, and died in peace the nineteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

13. Gillus, bastard sonne to Evenus, usurped the crowne, and traiterously killed two sonnes of Durstius, contending for the crowne, in the year of the world 3892; before Christ 97; after the reign 252. A crafty tyrant, killed in battell by Cadellus, captain of the Brigandes, the second year of his reign, his head cut off, his body buried in Dunstaffage.

14. Evenus *secundus*, Donallus sonne, King Finnanus brother, succeeded in the year of the world 3894; before Christ 77; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 254. Hee was a good justicer, civill, vertuous, and peaceable king. Cadellus, after the killing of Gillus, returning out of Ireland with his victorious army,

by rage of tempest were almost all perished. Cadellus was truely rewarded with many landes by the king, and comforted by him concerning his great losse of nobles and friends. King Evenus marrying Siora, daughter of Gethus, king of the Picts, confirmed the old band. After that hee vanquished Balus, king of Orknay, who finding no way to escape, killed himself. Hee died in peace the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

15. Ederus, Durstius sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 3911; before Christ 60; after the reign 271: a wise, valiant, and good king. Bredus of the Isles, (cousin to Gillus, killed as is before-mentioned,) made insurrection. Shortly after, the king pursuing him and his associates, they were all taken captives, and many, with the said Bredus, killed. Cassibilian, king of Britons, sent his ambassadours to the king of Scots, desiring support against Julius Cæsar, the Roman emperor, who was ready with most dreadfull ordinance to come into Albion. The king and nobles receiving the ambassadours courteously, Androgeus, special ambassadour, after a large and serious oration, the king and nobles being advised, sent unto London ten thousand chosen men, under the conduct and government of Cadallan and Dowall, captaines of the Brigandes and Lorne. Also an army of Picts came at the request of Ederus. The Britons were raised in great esperance of victory by the aid of Scots and Picts, for they had no little confidence in their manhood and chivalry. King Cassibilian went

forward with his whole power against the Romans. There ensued a dangerous and doubtful battell; at the last the Romanes were fugitive, and being minded to renew the battell, Julius (hearing of the great destruction of his ships,) changed his mind, hoysted sayles in the night, and returned into France, leaving behind them a great prey of goods, when Julius Cæsar was forced to avoid Albion. The Britons, Scots, and Picts, parted the spoyle gotten in his campe by custome of armes, rejoycing of this glorious victory. Cadallan and Dowall, richly rewarded by Cassibilian, returned with the Scots army, at whose coming the king was greatly rejoyced; then followed such love and kindnesse betweene the Britons, Scots, and Picts, that it appeared them to live in perpetuall peace. The king passing to Innerness, was certainly informed by sundry merchant strangers, that Julius had pacified France to his empire, and making provision for a new armie to return into Briton, to revenge the injuries done unto him the last year. He sends his ambassadours to Cassibilian, promising (if he pleased) to send ten thousand chosen men unto his aid and support. The Britons (moved with vain arrogancy) refused to have any supply of Scots or Picts. Julius returning into Briton, was three sundry times put back, but at the last Cassibilian was vanquished, and his whole valiant captaines taken or killed, and his lands made to pay three thousand pound of silver to the Romans for tribute. Julius sendeth his ambassadours to the Scots and Picts, offering them con-

ditions of peace two several times. They were resolute to remaine free, not to be subject, and refusing all conditions of peace, were willing to defend their lives and liberties. Julius being minded to invade the Scots and Picts, was advertised of a sudden uproar in France, for which cause he passed into France. Murket, Gildus his nephew, made insurreetion against the king. Therefore he sent Cadallan with armed men, who hanged Murket with his accomplices. The king continued in good peace the rest of his days. He died peaceably the forty-eight year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

16. Evenus *tertius*, succeeded his father Ederus the year of the world 3959; before Christ 12; after the reign 319. Hee was a luxurious avaritious tyrant, retaining a hundred concubines, and not being satiate with them. He was taken in a battell captive, and imprisoned, and was killed by a young child the first night. The child was executed on the morrow, the seventh year of his reign. He was buried at Dunstaffage.

17. Metellanus, Ederus brother's son, succeeded the year of the world 3966; before the coming of Christ 4 years; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 326. Hee was a very modest, civill, and good king, peace being universally at the birth of our Saviour Christ. The Roman Emperor Augustus sent his ambassadours into Briton, requesting the Britons to continue peace, with whom the king sent many rich jewels to Augustus, to be offered in their capital. Hee wan sure amity of them, which endured long.

In this time were in Rome, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tullius, Marcus Varro, Strabo, Titus Livius, Sallustius, with many other learned men. He died peaceably the nine and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

18. Caratacus, Metellanus sister's sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 4005; in the year of Christ 35; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 365. He enjoying the great treasure and riches left by king Metellanus, exceeded all the kings in Albion in riches. Being wise and valiant, pacifying his realme from all uproar and rebellion, specially in the isles, and executing severe justice. The Britons at this time rebelling against the Romans, sent their ambassadours to Caratacus, desiring support against the Romans, he first reproaching them for their wilfull refusal. The Scots offering them support, wisely counselling them to solicit the Normans, Picards, Barteners, and all them on the sea coast, to rebel against them, and to kill the souldiers, promising assistance of the kings of Albion with money and valiant warriours, both by sea and land. The Romans shortly after invading the Britons, in a dangerous battell vanquished them, and killed their king Claudius; and Vespasian coming into Briton, subdued them again, and passing into Orknay, subdued the same, and brought Ganus, king of Orknay, his wife and children, in his triumph to Rome. The Britons coming to York, made new insurrections, assisted by Caratacus, king of Scots, and Congestus, king of Picts; against whom Plancius, the Roman go-

vernour, and Aruiragus, then king of Britons, came with a great army. Caratacus being elected general, there followed a cruell and dangerous battell, with uncertaine victory, untill the night separated them on either parties. Plancius on the morrow seeing his great losse, specially of his horsemen, returned to London, and Caratacus returned to York. The next year Vespasian, with many legions of Romans, were sent into Briton. Aruiragus assisting with the rest of the Britons, conveened at York three score and five thousand chosen men. The confederate kings came with three score thousand valiant warriours. There was a terrible and cruell battell. The Albions, (notwithstanding their great valiantness,) were discomfited by the prudent government of Vespasian: the king of Picts killed, the whole Britons being killed except sixe hundred, with their king. Caratacus returned with a few number to Brigance. Vespasian wintered in York, and in the spring besieged and wanne Camelon, wherein was found many rich monuments and jewels, with a precious crowne of gold, set about with many precious stones of divers colours, with a sword with hilts of gold, which Vespasian used in all his warres. Hee remaining in Camelon, Caratacus assembled a new armie, against whom Plancius was sent with a great armie: a cruell battell ensued. The victory at last succeeded to the Romans. The rest of the Scots (that escaped this sorrowfull battell) were fugitive to the mountains. King Caratacus being sore wounded, was brought with great difficulty to Dunstaffage. Ves-

pasian sending his messengers to Caratacus, promising (if he would be obedient to the Roman empire) that he should remain in honour, and be reputed and holden as a friend to the senate and people of Rome: who answered, that the kingdom of Scotland was as free to him as the kingdom of Rome was to Cæsar. Vespasian returning to Rome, Caratacus assembling a new armie, the Romans encountering him with a great multitude, there followed a cruell and terrible battell, long with uncertain victory; at the last the Romans obtained victory. Caratacus returned to Dunstaffage. Plancius dying at Camelon, Ostorius Scapula was sent by the emperor in his place, who, after sundrie rebellions of the Britons, conquered them, and came within the bounds of Scotland. Caratacus gathered a new armie of forty thousand valiant men: there ensued a dangerous and terrible battell, the victory succeeding at last to the Romans. Caratacus wife, his daughter, and brother, were taken, himself returning to Cartamunda, his step mother, queen of Scots, (in whom he trusted,) but unworthily he was by her betrayed, and rendred to the Romans. King Caratacus was sent with his wife, daughter, and brother, to Rome, where he was greatly admired, and honourably of the emperor entertained, and remitted freely with his queen, daughter, and brother, to return home, restoring all his lands again. He remaining the rest of his dayes in good peace, died the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried at Dunstaffage.

19. Corbredus *primus*, succeeded his brother

Caratacus in the year of the world 4025; in the year of Christ 55; after the reign 385: a wise king and good justicer. He convented his nobles, and took counsell of Venisius, the husband of Cartamunda, his step mother, queen of Scots, who by crafty slights had taken the aforesaid Venisius, her husband, and sundry of his friends, and detained them prisoners, purposing to render them into the Romans hands. The king impatient thereof, came and relieved them, commanding her to be buried quicke. After a cruell battell betweene the Romans, the Scots, and the Picts, peace was concluded. The Romans shall possess the lands of Briton by them conquered, without invading of Scots or Picts; then after, by command of Nero, Veraneus was sent into Briton, who shortly died. Woada, sister to Corbredus, queen of Briton, sent to her brother, complaining of her misery and trouble, her daughters deflowred, herself shamefully beaten by unmercifull Romans. Corbredus moved herewith, renewed the band with the Picts, and they raising a great armie, killed all the Romans they might apprehend, and wanne in their journey Berwick, being then the most populous town of that region. In this time there came a people called Murrayes, out of Almaine, with their captaine Roderik, put forth and expelled out of their native land, being inhibited to land in France and Briton, arrived in Forth between Louthean and Fiffe. They were sworn enemies to the Romans, rejoycing greatly that they might have occasion to be revenged upon their enemies; requesting the confederate kings

to suffer them to pass formost in support of their people; and (if it chanced the Romans to be vanquished) to grant them wives that they might increase under one blood with the Scots. These conditions were granted to the Murrayes. The confederate kings, with the Murrayes, went forwards, and joining with the valiant queen of Britons, Woada, who rejoycing of her brother King Corbredus and the king of Picts coming, after an oration and comfortable speech made by her, proffering her, with five thousand ladies armed, to pass in the front of the battell, against the unmercifull and shamefull deflowerers of virgins and matrons, the cruell Romans. The confederate kings allowing her courage, past forwards. Cattus, the Roman governour, with arrayed armes, came to resist them. There followed a sharp battell; the horsemen of the Romans being vanquished, the rest were fugitive with Cattus, sore wounded, escaped, and returned into France. The Albions parted the spoyle and riches of this field among them, and killed the Romans in all parts where they might apprehend them. In all this battell were killed 70,000 Romans, and 30,000 Albions. Had not Swetonius, the Roman legat, come hastily into Briton, with two legions and ten thousand warriours of sundry nations, the Albions had been perpetually freed from the Romans. Woada the queen, hearing of the new army of the Romans, assembled a new and great army of Britons, Scots, Picts, and Murrayes. There followed a bloody and terrible battell. At last the Albions being vanquished, four

score thousand killed, the Murrayes almost all killed, with their captaine Roderik. Woada killed herself, to escape the injury of the Romans. Her two daughters were taken and brought armed to Swetonius. The eldest daughter was married unto a noble Roman, named Marius, who after was, by command of Cæsar, made king of Britons. Corbredus, broken with this sorrowfull battell, returned with the rest of his armie into Scotland, and gave to the rest of the Murrayes (that escaped out of the field) all the lands betweene Spey and Innerness, which lands were called after them Murray land; for the old inhabitants being seditious and troublesome, were partly expelled. The Murrayes then were married unto Scottish virgins, and remained under one blood and friendship. Corbredus, the king, continued the rest of his dayes in peace, and died the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

20. Dardanus, nephew to Metellanus, succeeded, the year of the world 4042; the year of Christ 72; after the reign 402. He was well beloved of the people, being a lustie person, fair of visage and body. He appeared in the beginning to be a good king, but being within three years degenerat, became an odious tyrant, and would have traiterously caused to be slaine the two sonnes of Corbredus, remaining in the Isle of Man under discipline. This tyrant at last was killed in battell, and beheaded by his nobles the fourth year of his reign, without burial.

21. Corbredus *secundus*, surnamed Galdus, Corbredus *primus* sonne, succeeded, an excellent per-

son, endued with sundrie vertues and high prerogatives, in the year of the world 4046; the year of Christ 76; after the beginning of the reign 406: a valiant and couragious king. He renewed many battells against the Romans, and was often victorious. At this time arrived in Forth a company of Almaines, named Usipians, banished out of their native land, for killing of a Roman captaine and his band. They were pleasantly received, and ordained certaine lands to be inhabited by them, beside the Murrayes, for they were of one blood. Agricola remaining in Briton eight yeares with his Romans, had sundrie victories against the Scots and Picts. Domitian, the emperor, envying Agricola's prosperous state in Briton, sent hastily letters for him; at whose coming to Rome, he was poysoned by command of the said Domitian. Guenus Tabellius was made governour of Briton. Dissension engendred among the Romans for the government. King Corbredus, surnamed Galdus, (being by his explorators) advertised hereof, came with a new army of Scots and Picts, against the Romans; and finally, their captaine, with many Romans, were killed. The Scots, with the Picts, followed the whole day, and killed them wheresoever they might apprehend them. The king assembling the Scots and Picts, parted the rich spoyle of their enemies amongst them, as they had deserved. Afterwards, the Scots and Picts pursued cruelly in all parts the Romans. The Romans conveening them, elected Chelius to be their governour. There followed a most dangerous battell; at last the Romans

were vanquished, and pursued with continuall killing into Calidon wood. The confederate kings came with their armies into Brigance. The Romans having assembled themselves in most fearfull ordinance, a company of Britons, (sent by Marius, their king, in support of the Romans,) came to the confederate kings. There followed a terrible and bloody battell; the Romans being vanquished and compelled to retire to their tents, with great killing of them, defended their tents with great manhood, untill the night approached. The Scots were very careful and vigilant all night, and attended that their enemies should not escape; others were making engines to break down their tents and trenches. The Romans seeing so great preparation against them, and no way to escape the danger, sent their orators to the confederate kings, most humbly intreating peace, on what conditions pleased them. After long consultation, peace was granted. The Romans to passe and render all lands, forts, and munitions, pertaining to the Scots and Picts, with all their goods taken violently from them during the warres, and to remain their friends at all times. Afterwards, this most valiant king, Corbredus Galdus, came to Epiake, the principall citie then of Scotland. The rest of his days he continued in peace, exercising severe justice. He died peaceably the five and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

22. Lugthacus succeeded his father Corbredus Galdus, in the year of the world 4080; the year of Christ 110; after the reign 440; an odious

and cruell tyrant, he was killed by his nobles the third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

23. Mogallus, Corbredus *secundus* sister's son, succeeded the year of the world 4083; the year of Christ 113; after the reign 442. Hee was a good king, and victorious in the beginning of his reign, governing his people with great justice, and obtained a great victory against Lucius and his Romans, by the assistance of the Picts, in Westmerland and Cumber; obtaining a rich spoyle of the Romans, which they parted by law of armes. Afterwards the king did degenerat into a cruell tyrant. In his time, Adrian the emperor came into Briton, and builded the wall of Adrian, dividing the Britons from the Scots and Picts: a great wall made of fewell, earth and turves, from the mouth of Tyne, over against the Almaine seas, to the flood of Eske, at the Irish seas, four score miles in length. Hee was killed by his nobles for his tyrannie and odious life, the thirty-six year of his reign, and was buried at Dunstaffage.

24. Conrus succeeded his father Mogallus, the year of the world 4119; the year of Christ 149; after the reign 479: a cruel tyrant, degraded and imprisoned by his nobles, (and Argadus, captaine of Ardgile, made governour; a good and severe justicer): hee died in prison the fourteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

25. Ethodius *primus*, Mogallus sister's sonne, succeeded the year of the world 4133; the year of Christ 163; after the reign 493. A good justicer, who holding sundrie battells against the

Roman captaines, Victorine, Trebellius, and Pertinax, near the wall of Adrian, and ministring good justice, oppressing rebels, was traiterously killed by a harper, (whom he trusted,) the thirty third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage. This harper was most cruelly executed.

26. Satrael succeeded his brother Ethodius *primus*, the year of the world 4165; the year of Christ 195; after the reign 525; a cruell tyrant. Hee was slaine by one of his courtiers the fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

27. Donaldus *primus*, the first Christian king of Scotland, succeeded his brother Satrael in the year of the world 4169; in the year of Christ 199; from the beginning of the reign of Scotland 529. A good and religious king, (in his time, Severus the emperor came into Briton;) after many incursions made by the Scots and Picts in abolishing the wall of Adrian; Antonius, Severus sonne, governed Briton, and builded and repaired the wall of Adrian strongly with towers. Severus dying, Antonius killing his brother Getus, was emperor. This king Donaldus coined gold and silver, and embraced the Christian faith. Hee died in peace the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

28. Ethodius *secundus*, Ethodius *primus* sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 4186; the year of Christ 216; after the reign 546. An unwise and base minded king. The realme was prudently governed by his nobles. He was killed by his guard, the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

29. Athirco succeeded his father Ethodius *secundus*, the year of the world 4201; the year of Christ 231; after the reign 561. A good prince in his beginning, afterwards being degenerat, and pursued by his nobles for his vicious life, killed himself the twelfth year of his reign.

30. Nathalocus succeeded the year of the world 4212; the year of Christ 242; after the reign 572. A cruell tyrant, killed by his nobles (usurping the crowne) the eleventh year of his reign.

31. Findocus, Athirco's sonne, succeeded the year of the world 4223; the year of Christ 253; after the reign 583. A good and valiant king; he was killed at a hunting, by instigation of his brother Carance, and Donald, lord of the isles. The traitors, killers of him, being tormented to death, and Carance exiled, the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

32. Donaldus *secundus*, succeeded his brother Findocus the year of the world 4234; the year of Christ 264; after the reign 594. A good king; he was wounded in battell, and being vanquished by the insurrection of Donald of the Isles, three thousand of his armie killed, and two thousand with their king taken, the third day with melancholy died, the first year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

33. Donaldus *tertius*, lord of the Isles, (usurped the crowne,) the year of the world 4235; the year of Christ 265; after the reign 595. A cruell tyrant, killed by Crathilinthus, his successor, (at which time there was universal persecution of the

Christians under the empire of Decius,) the twelfth year of his reign.

34. Crathilinthus, Findocus sonne, succeeded the year of the world 4247.; the year of Christ 277; after the reign 607. A valiant good justicer, and godly king. Hee purged the land of superstition, planting the true Christian religion. In this time chanced in the hunting betweene Scots and Picts, a discord so hastily, that there were many killed on both parties. Carance, (brother to Findocus,) or Carasus, the 77th king of Briton, exiled for suspicion of Findocus slaughter, was long in the Roman warres with Dioclesian the emperor, and using himself valiantly, returned into Albion with many valiant warriours and great riches; placed his people in Westmerland, being reconciled with the king, he at length agreed the two long confederate kings and people. Carance, assisted by the two confederate kings, with a great armie, in three battells, coming to York, was resisted by Quintus Bassianus, captaine of the Britons, whom he killed, with many valiant Romans. After this battell victoriously wonne against the Romans, and the rich spoyle parted according to the law of armes, Carance with his victorious armie past to London, where he was received with great reverence, and possessed the crowne of Briton, contrarie to the empire of the Romans; retaining in his companie two thousand Scots and Picts continually for a guard. He being assaulted in battell by the Romans and Britons, was always victorious. The seventh year

of his reign in Briton, hee was killed by Alectus, a Roman captaine. King Crathilinthus ended the rest of his dayes in good peace, and died the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Dunstaffage.

35. Fincormacus, father's brother's son to Crathilinthus, succeeded in the year of the world 4271; the year of Christ 301; after the reign 631; a godly valiant king. He was a worthy promoter of Christian religion in Scotland; at which time Traberus, a Roman captaine, with many legions sent by the Emperor Constantinus, into Briton, to repress Octavius, then king of Britons, who being expelled, fled into Scotland. Traberus assembling a great army against the king of Scots, and Octavius king of Britons, (whom the aforesaid king of Scots refused to render,) being solicited friendly, and thereafter sharply and proudly menaced by the said Traberus, followed a cruell and dangerous battell: the Romans finally vanquished, and sixeteene thousand of the Romans killed, and fifeteene thousand Albions killed. Fincormacus and Octavius pursued until they came to York, where the two kings were pleasantly received by the nobles of Briton; Octavius restored to the crowne. Fincormacus, for his assistance, had perpetually confirmed with an oath, to him and his successors, the lands of Westmerland and Cumber, (which Carance had granted in his time to the Scots and Picts, for the assistance of him by king Crathilinthus against the Romans); king Fincormacus continued the rest of his dayes in peace with the Britons and Picts, and died the

seven and fourtie year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

36. Romachus, brother's son to Crathilinthus, succeeded in the year of the world 4318; in the year of Christ 348; after the reign 678; a cruell tyrant, killed and beheaded by his nobles the third year of his reign, in whose time Arrius began, and Ireland became Christian.

37. Anguseanus, Crathilinthus brother's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4321; in the year of Christ 351; after the reign 681; a good and valiant king. Nectanus, king of Picts, to revenge the killing of Romans, gathered an army against the Scots. There followed a sharp battell, the Scots being victorious, and many of the nobles of the Picts killed, their king fled unto Camelon, their principall citie. After that, the Picts renewed battell, and came to the wood of Calidon, where the king of Scots with a great army joyned battell, with great cruelty; both the kings were killed, and many of their nobles, the third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage, without succession.

38. Fethelmachus, another brother's sonne of Crathilinthus, succeeded in the year of the world 4324; in the year of Christ 354; after the reign 684. He was a good and valiant king, and victorious against the Picts, and killed their king in battell. He was traiterously murthered in his owne chamber by two dissembling Picts and an harper, the third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage. The murtherers were apprehended and most cruelly tormented. At this time St.

Andrew's church was builded by the king of Picts, at the request of St. Rewell.

39. Eugenius *primus*, Fincormacus sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 4327; in the year of Christ 357; after the reign 687. A valiant, just, and good king; he was killed in battell, his brother taken, and all his nobles killed, with fifty thousand of his army, by the cruelty of the Romans, Britons, and deceitful Picts, and the whole nation of Scots expelled a long time, the third year of his reign.

40. Fergusius *secundus*, Erthus sonne, sonne to Ethodius, Eugenius the first's brother, returning into Scotland, by support of Danes, Gothes, and his own countrie men, gathered unto him out of all parts, (where they were dispersed,) conquered his realme of Scotland out of the Romans and Picts hands, beginning his reign in the year of the world 4374; in the year of Christ 404; from the beginning of the realme of Scotland 734. He was a wise, valiant, good, and godly king, being confederate with the Picts. He was sundry times victorious against the Romans; at the last he was killed in a battell by the Romans, the sixteenth year of his reign, and buried in Icolmkill.

41. Eugenius *secundus*, Fergusius *secundus* son, succeeded his father in the year of the world 4390; in the year of Christ 420; from the beginning of the reign of Scotland 750. He was a valiant and good king, in sundrie battells victorious against the Romans and Britons. At which time Maximian, the Roman governor of Briton, made insurrection against the Romans, and cruelly invaded

the land then called Armorica, and killed the most part of the people there, that it should not be a prey to Frenchmen, their neighbours. Hee brought out of Briton a great multitude of people to inhabit the same. Some authors write there came an hundred thousand men out of Briton with Conanus, who was made king of that land, and called the same land Briton, or Little Briton, after the Britons that came to inhabit there. Then after they sent into Briton for women to be their wives; at whose request Ursula, (called St. Ursula,) with 11,000 virgins, were imbarked to pass to Briton: they all by contrarie and tempestuous winds, were compelled to arrive in the low countries, journeying by land to Briton, and were all lamentably murthered and killed, because they would not suffer deflowring of their bodies, but rather offered themselves to be cruelly and unmercifully murthered and killed. After this unhappy and cruell murther, other women and virgins were sent in great number into Briton, who inhabit that land continually to this day. Briton being desolate of Roman support, was occasion that the confederate kings invaded them so hardly; for the valiant Graham, (whose father was expelled out of Scotland with Ethodius, brother to King Eugenius the first, killed in battell, as afore is rehearsed, married with a noble lady of Denmark, who was mother to the aforesaid Graham,) which Graham married a virgin of the blood royal of Denmark, to whom she bare a daughter of excellent beauty, who was married to Fergusius the second, king of Scots; of him de-

scended the ancient surname of Graham. Hee was a great enemie to the Romans, for he destroyed to the ground the wall of Abircorne, called them after Graham's Dikes, and past and all utterly abolished the wall of Adrian over against the Irish seas. The confederate kings, accompanied with valiant Graham, past with fire and sword through all the bounds betweene Tyne and Humber. There followed a most dangerous battell, in the which were killed fifteen thousand Britons, with the most of the princes and nobles of Briton, and four thousand Scots; and the whole Romans being expelled out of Briton by the confederate kings, and peace being concluded betweene the confederate kings and the Britons, all the lands lying beyond Humber shall remain perpetually under the empire of the confederate kings, and presently to be paid three score thousand pound to their men of warre, and twentie thousand pound yearly to the two confederate kings: and for observing hereof, the Britons delivered one hundred pledges, being within age of thirty yeares, at the will and pleasure of the confederate kings. In the seventh year of the reign of Eugenius the second, king of Scots, Briton was wholly delivered and released from Roman tribute, 496 years after that Julius Cæsar began the first tribute. Eugenius increased in riches and policie, his realme with continuall peace. In the same time, the Britons falling at great diversitie betweene the nobles and commons, there were many of both parties miserably killed. He died in peace

the one and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

42. Dongardus succeeded his brother Eugenius, the year of the world 4421; the year of Christ 451; after the reign 781. A godly, wise, and valiant king: in a dangerous and cruell battell betweene Constantine, now elected king of Briton, there were killed sixteene thousand Britons, and four thousand Scots and Picts. The victory falling to the confederates, the king of Scots, valiantly fighting, was killed, the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill, which was the burial place for the kings, untill King Malcolm Canmor's dayes.

43. Constantinus *primus*, succeeded his brother Dongardus, the year of the world 4427; in the year of Christ 457; from the beginning of the reign 787. A vicious and odious king, killed by one of his nobles, whose daughter he had deflowred, the twentie second year of his unworthie reign.

44. Congallus the first, Dongardus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4449; the year of Christ 479; after the reign 809. A valiant king; he vanquished the Britons in a cruell and dangerous battell, wherein were killed 20,000 Britons, with many nobles, with Gwythell, Prince of Wales. Vortiger usurping the crowne of Briton, sent into Almaine to hyre warriours against the confederate kings. At which time came into Briton, Hengist and Horsus, two brethren, with 10,000 Saxons. Immediately the Britons and

Saxons past with arrayed battell to Humber, before the confederate kings were admonished of their coming, killing in all parts without mercy where they came. The king of Picts assembled his armie, and joyned battell, (without support of the Scots,) where he was vanquished by the Saxons and Britons. The Saxons, proud of this victory, and being resolved to conquer the kingdom of Briton, past further; against them came King Congallus, with a great armie, with the Picts: there followed a cruell battell, with uncertaine victory. At last the Britons (that fought in the right wing against the Scots,) being vanquished, there chanced a mighty shower of hail, with great darkness. Hengist, by sound of trumpet, gathered his people to his standard. The Scots and Picts, (hoping their enemies to be vanquished,) followed on the Britons without array. The Britons vanquished, and the confederate people without order killing and spoyling, Hengist came with his Saxons in arrayed battell, and killed all the confederates that might be overtaken. This battell was right sorrowfull to the confederate people, and not pleasant to their enemies, for the most part of the armie of Britons were killed. Hengist obtaining new support out of Saxony, the next summer came with Vortimer, King Vortigerus son, with a great armie: there followed a cruell and long battell, valiantly debated on all parts, with sundry chances, for many Scots and Britons being killed, and Congallus sore wounded, was brought out of the field. Long time then after, Ambrosius, (when he had vanquished Vortiger,) and

being crowned king of Briton, confederate with the Scots and Picts, assisted by them, killed with his own hands Hengist, and expelled the rest of the Saxons. King Congallus (holding good peace with Britons and Picts, vexed with long infirmity) died peaceably the two and twentieth year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

45. Conranus succeeded his brother Congallus, the year of the world 4471; the year of Christ 501; after the reign 831. A good king and severe justicer. In his time arrived in Briton Occa and Passentius, sonnes of Hengist, with a great multitude of valiant souldiers, (assisted by the princes of Germanie,) against whom came King Ambrosius. There followed a doubtfull and dangerous battell, the victory inclining to Ambrosius, yet very unpleasant, for at the same time, there were many Britons killed. Nevertheless, they parted the spoyle of Saxons by the right of armes. Occa being advertised of the coming of the confederate kings to assist Ambrosius, sent his brother Passentius to bring great support out of Germanie; by contrary windes hee arrived in Ireland, where he gathered a great number of hyred warriours, and returned into Briton. Occa perswaded one Coppa, a fayned physician, to poyson King Ambrosius. The confederate kings coming with a strong army to assist Ambrosius, were advertised of his death: therefore, they not knowing who was friend or foe, and being likewise uncertain how he died, they returned home. Arthurus being king of Britons, assisted by the Scots and Picts, obtained sundrie victories against

the Saxons. The confederate nobles abode certaine dayes in London; and being richly rewarded by King Arthurus, returned home. The realme of Scotland was governed in great felicitie and justice by King Conranus. Then after, certaine traitors, (assisted by Donald, captaine of Athole) murthered the king in his chamber, the thirty fourth year of his reign; in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Arthurus, and in the twentieth year of the Emperor Justinian, the year of Christ 535: he was buried at Icolmkill.

46. Eugenius *tertius*, Congallus the first's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4505; in the year of Christ 535; after the reign 865. A wise godly king, and good justicer: he continued in peace all his dayes, and died the twentie third year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

47. Congallus *secundus*, succeeded his brother Eugenius *tertius*, the year of the world 4528; the year of Christ 458; after the reign 888. A good, just, and godly prince; he instituted many godly lawes concerning churches and churchmen. He died in peace the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill; in whose time was St. Colme and St. Mungo.

48. Kinnatillus succeeded his brother Congallus *secundus*, in the year of the world 4539; the year of Christ 569; after the reign 899. A good and godly king: hee died in peace the first year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

49. Aidanus, Conranus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4540; the year of Christ 570; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 900.

Hee was a valiant and good king, and severe justicer; he confederated with the Britons against the Saxons and Picts. There followed sundrie battells; at last the Britons and Scots came into Northumberland against the Saxons and Picts, and vanquished them in a dangerous battell: the tenth part of the spoyle obtained in the field, was dedicated to the churches of Scotland; and the banners or ensigns gotten at that time, sent to Icolmkill. He died in peace the five and thirty year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

50. Kennethus *primus*, Congallus *secundus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4575; the year of Christ 605; after the reign 935; a good and peaceable prince: he died the first year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

51. Eugenius *quartus*, Aidanus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4576; the year of Christ 606; after the reign 936. Hee was a godly and good justicer, and instituted many godly and good lawes for the commonwealth of his subjects. He reigned peaceably, and died in peace, the fifteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

52. Ferchardus *primus*, succeeded his father Eugenius *quartus*, the year of the world 4591; the year of Christ 621; after the reign 951. A vicious tyrant, degraded by his nobles, and imprisoned. He killed himself in prison the eleventh year of his reign.

53. Donaldus *quartus*, succeeded his father Ferchardus, the year of the world 4602; the year of Christ 632; after the reign 962. A good and religious king, holding peace with his neighbours.

He being at fishing with his servants for pastime, perished in Lochtay, the fourteenth year of his reign; his body being found, was buried in Icolmkill.

54. Ferchardus *secundus*, succeeded his brother Donaldus, in the year of the world 4616; in the year of Christ 646; after the reign 976: he was an avaricious tyrant, and was bitten by a wolfe in hunting (whereof ensued a dangerous fever); being penitent of his evil life, died the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

55. Malduinus, Donaldus *quartus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4634; in the year of Christ 664; after the reign 994. He was a godly and wise king, and a severe justicer, holding good peace with his neighbours. He was strangled by his wife in the night, on suspicion of adulterie, the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. On the morrow his wife was taken with her accomplices, and burned to death.

56. Eugenius *quintus*, Malduinus brother's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4654; in the year of Christ 684; after the reign 1014. Hee was a valiant and good king; he obtained a great victory against Edfreid, king of Northumberland, who was killed, with ten thousand Saxons; and Bredius, king of Picts, fled away. He died the fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

57. Eugenius *sextus*, Ferchardus *secundus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4658; in the year of Christ 688; after the reign 1018. Hee was a good, religious, and peaceable king. Hee

died in peace the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

58. Amberkelethus succeeded in the year of the world 4667; the year of Christ 697; after the reign 1027: an avaricious evil king; he was killed by a shot of an arrow, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

59. Eugenius *septimus*, succeeded his brother Amberkelethus, in the year of the world 4669; in the year of Christ 699; after the reign 1029. A good king, contracting peace with the king of Piets, then called Garnard, who married his daughter Spontana; she being with child, in the next year, was murthered in her bed, instead of the king, by two brethren of Athole, (who had conspired the king's death). The murtherers were at length apprehended, and cruelly put to death. He continued a religious and vertuous king, and he endowed sundrie churches liberally, holding good peace with his neighbours, and died in peace the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

60. Mordacus, son to Amberkelethus, succeeded in the year of the world 4685; in the year of Christ 715; after the reign 1045. An humble and liberal prince; he caused peace to be made in all Briton, amongst the Britons, Saxons, Scots, and Picts; he repaired many decayed churches, and builded Quhitthorne. In his time was St. Beda. He died peaceably the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

61. Etfinus, Eugenius *septimus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4700; in the year of

Christ 730; after the reign 1060. A godly wise king, and a severe justicer, holding his realme in good peace, his people increasing in riches and religion; he being aged, elected four regents, viz. the Thanes of Ardgile, Athole, Galloway, and Murray, to do justice to his subjects, which was not observed. He died in peace the one and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

62. Eugenius *octavus*, Mordacus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4731; in the year of Christ 761; after the reign 1091: A good king and severe justicer in the beginning, for he executed to death Donald the tyrant, Lord of the Isles, and the Earl of Galloway, for assenting to his vices; then after, he being degenerat unto all abominable vices, was killed by his nobles the third year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill; his familiars and servants assisting to his vicious life, were all hanged upon gibbets, to the great contentment of all his subjects.

63. Fergusius *tertius*, Etfinus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4734; in the year of Christ 764; after the reign 1094. He married Ethiolia, daughter to the king of Picts: he was a letcherous adulterer, and being admonished, continued still in whoredom: at last he was murthered by his wife, and sundrie of his familiar servants, who being therefore sharply accused, his queen hearing thereof, came into judgment and relieved those men. She confessed the fact, and immediately stabbed herself to the heart with a dagger, and died in presence of the whole people.

The king was buried in Icolmkill, the third year of his reign.

64. Soluathius, Eugenius *octavus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4737; in the year of Christ 767; after the reign 1097. A noble and valiant king; he married the king of Briton's daughter, who bare to him two sonnes and one daughter. He being troubled with the gout, governed his people by his captaines and commanders, severely executing justice, and subdued sundrie rebels, especially Banus, captaine of the Isle of Tyre, who assembled a great companie of rebells, and called himself king. He died peaceably of the gout the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

65. Achaius, Etfinus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4757; in the year of Christ 787; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 1117. A good, godly, and peaceable king; he pacified insurrection both in Scotland and in Ireland, and contracted the band of amitie with Charles the Great, king of France, and emperor of Germany, which band hath continued inviolably observed unto this present time. He married the aforesaid Charles the Great's daughter, who bare to him three sonnes and one daughter. The amitie and confederation of Frenchmen and Scots, was to be made for ever, both for the people present, and their successors: and for the corroboration of the said band, King Achaius sent his brother Guilliam, with sundrie nobles, into France, with foure thousand valiant warriours, to assist the foresaid Charles in his warres, in any

part he pleased to passe against the enemies of the Christian faith, at which time the armes of the kings of Scotland, were the red lyon rampant in a field of gold; thereto was augmented a double tressour, with contrary lillies or flower-de-luce, including the lyon on all parts. Guilliam, Achaius brother, assisting Charles in his warres with his valiant Scots, purchased great honour, and was so beloved and holden in great estimation among the princes of France, that he was called the knight without reproach, and purchased great riches and lands. He prospered greatly in all his warres, and vanquished sundrie nations rebelling against the emperor. He obtained great honours the time that King Charles restored Pope Leo the Third to his seat, after that he was put out of Rome by injurie of the Romans. He obtained great honours when Charles, passing thro' Tuskany, restored the city of Florance to its ancient honours, after it was destroyed by the Gothes. These, and many other honourable acts, were performed by Scottish Guilliam, howbeit they were done under the name of Charles the Emperor, for he remained not long in Italy, but left the charge to Guilliam, who did all things with such prudence, that he augmented the dominion of Florance greatly. The Florantines, in recompence of Guilliam's humanity towards them, ordained solemn playes to be made in the city, in which a lyon was crowned with sundrie ceremonies; they commanded also quick lyons to be yearely nourished upon the public purse, because the lyon was the arms of Scottish Guilliam. This

is yet observed in perpetuall memory. Guilliam, after infinit travels taken with Charles the Great, for the defence of Christian faith, grew in age, and because he had no succession of his body, (for he was all his days given to chivalrie,) he made Christ his heire, and founded many abbeys in Italy, Almaine, and Germanie, liberally distributing unto them rich rents and lands, and ordained that Scottishmen onely should be abbots to the same abbeys. In witness hereof, are many abbeys in Almaine and Germanie, nothing changed from the first institution. At the coming first of Scottish Guilliam, there came two learned clerks with him from Scotland, holden in great honour by the emperor for their singular learning; they obtained a place in Paris, which was given to them with certain lands to sustain their estate, and to instruct the noblemen's children of France in sundrie sciences. To these men came such confluence of people out of all parts desiring learning, that in short time, by their exact diligence in erudition of young children, the citie of Paris was made a solemn universitie of resolute men in all sciences. The Emperor Charles having great delectation that learning began to flourish in his realme, by the great industrie of those two Scottishmen, commanded that Clement should remain as principal regent of Paris, and John his colleague to passe to Pauy, a town of Lombardy, for increasing of learning there. This small beginning was the original of the famous university of Paris. King Achaius, continuing in peace, the Roman empire was divided, for the Emperor Charles being the

first emperor of Germanie, was emperor of the west, and Constantine emperor of the east. Achaius married Fergusian, sister to Hungus, king of the Picts, who bare to him one sonne, called Alpine, who after succeeded to be king of Scotland, and right inheritor to the king of Picts. King Achaius being aged, died in peace the two and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

66. Congallus, Achaius father's brother's son, began his reign in the year of the world 4789; in the year of Christ 819; after the reign 1149; a good and peaceable king. Hee died in peace the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

67. Dongallus, Salvatius son, began his reign in the year of the world 4794; the year of Christ 824; after the reign 1154. A valiant and good king, sending his ambassadours to the Picts, after the death of Dorstologus, their king, killed by his brother Eganus, who married his brother's wife Brenna, daughter to the king of Marches, who after murthered the said Eganus in his bed, (notwithstanding his guard,) to revenge the murther of her first husband. The Scots ambassadours at command, and in the name of Alpinus, King Achaius sonne, begotten betwixt him and Fergusian, sister to Hungus, late king of Picts, (the two brethren aforesaid being murthered, without succession,) the right and title of the crowne of Picts succeeded by the law of God and man, to the aforesaid Alpinus. Therefore, desiring the Picts to accept him as their natural prince, both of Scotland and Pictaland, which they refused, and

elected Feredech to be their king, the Scots ambassadours denounced battell to the Picts. King Dongallus preparing a great army to pass against the Picts, unfortunately perished in a boat as he was passing over the water of Spey, being in the seventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

68. Alpinus, Achaius son, began his reign in the year of the world 4801; in the year of Christ 831; after the reign 1161. A valiant and good king, being right heire to the crowne of Picts, in a dangerous and cruell battell killed Feredech their king. Then after, the Picts elected Brudus, his son, king, who was killed the first year of his reign, by sedition amongst the Picts. His brother Kenneth was made king, who coming with an army against the Scots, rent off his coat armour, and fled to the mountaines, where he was shamefully killed by a countryman, (not knowing who he was). The Picts immediately elected a fierce and valiant prince, Brudus, to be their king, who directed ambassadours to Alpinus, desiring peace, all matters to be redressed, and the old band to be renewed. King Alpinus answered, that he would make no peace untill the crowne of Picts were delivered unto him as rightful inheritor. Brudus raised a great army, and came over the bridge of Dunkel to Angus. The night afore the battell, he caused all the carriage-men, and women, (that came with his army,) to stand in arrayed battell, with linen shirts above their cloaths, with such weapons and armour as they might furnish for the time. This done, he or-

dained an hundred horsemen to governe them, without any noise or din, in the next wood, commanding none of them to come in sight untill the battells were joyned. King Alpinus was at this time in a castle, which was situat on a hill, not far from Dundee, and beheld the armie of Picts marching forwards: incontinent he arrayed his Scots, then the battells joyned with great slaughter on all parts. Immediately the carriage-men, and women, afore rehearsed, came moving forwards upon the back of the Scots, who believing that a fresh armie of Picts were to come against them (not looked for), at last the Scots fled; for this hidden slight before rehearsed, was the discomfiture of the Scots army. The Picts followed with cruell killing of all they might overtake. In this battell was King Alpinus taken and beheaded. The place where he was beheaded is called Pas-Alpin, that is, the head of Alpin; his body was buried at Icolmkill, the third year of his reign. After this great victory obtained against the Scots, Brudus, king of the Picts, returned to Camelon, and convocated a counsell, making their oaths never to desist from battell untill they had utterly destroyed the Scots, and made a statute, what ever hee was that laboured to have peace with the Scots, hee should be beheaded. Some of the wise Picts not allowing their oathes and statutes, counselled to use victorie with measure, who were exiled, and came into Scotland.

69. Kennethus *secundus*, (surnamed the Great,) succeeded his father Alpine in the year of the world 4804; in the year of Christ 835; after the

beginning of the realme of Scotland 1164. A good and valiant king, he married the Lord of the Isles daughter, who bare to him three sonnes. The Picts coming against the Scots, they contended amongst themselves for a thing of nought: thus was their armie divided, and many slaine, untill night severed them. King Brudus could not pacifie them, therefore hee with the rest of his army passed home, and he shortly after died for displeasure. Donsken his brother, was elected king, and redressed all injuries that he might. Three yeares continued sundry incursions on both parts. King Kenneth settled his wits to defend his realme, putting strong souldiers in all forts adjoining to the borders of the Picts, and commanded his people to be daylie exercised in chivalrie, to be ready against every trouble that might occur. In the fourth yeare, King Kenneth made a convention of his nobles, consulting how hee might revenge his father's slaughter, and obtaine the crowne of Picts, (rightfully appertaining unto him). The season of the year being expedient to raise their army, the nobles not consenting thereunto, for the great slaughter lately made on their king and nobles, therefore the king convented all his nobles, perswading them that he had great matters to propound. By solemn banquet within his palace, he royally entertained them untill dark night; after, they were brought to severall chambers within the palace, and when they were in profound sleep, the king caused sundrie men to passe to every severall bed, (where the nobles did lye,) clad with fish skines, having in their hands

a clubbe of muscane tree, which, with the fish skines in the dark, did show a marvailous glaunce and light all at one time, each one holding in the other hand a bugle horne, and speaking thro' the horne, (appearing to be no mortall man's voyce,) did show they were angels sent by God to the princes and nobles of Scotland, to cause them to obey the desire of the king, for his desire was so just and right, that the Picts, for repulse thereof, should be brought to such extermination, that no puissance nor wisdome of man could resist: their speeches ended, they obscured their clubs and skines under their cloathes, their lights vanishing at one time. The nobles seeing this uncouth vision, were astonished, and tooke little rest that night; on the morrow at their convention, each one declaring their vision, (all being at one time,) concluded firmely the same to be no fantasie, but a heavenly vision, assuring them of victorie and felicitie; revealing the same to the king, who assured them that the same vision appeared to him the same hour, (howbeit, he would not first reveal it, lest his nobles should esteem him glorious). By general statute, all able persons were commanded, sufficiently prepared, to meet the king on an appointed day. In two battells the king being victorious against the Picts, to their utter extermination, King Donsken and all his nobles being killed, his sword and coat of armour were sent to Icolmkill in perpetuall memorie. The city of Camelon, after long assault, was utterly destroyed, and the Picts, men, women, and children, killed, after they had reigned in

Albion 1181 yeares. King Kenneth instituted many good lawes, and brought the fatall chayre from Ardgile to Scone, adding the realme of Picts to his dominion. This victorious king died the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

70. Donaldus *quintus*, Kennethus *secundus* brother, began his reign in the year of the world 4824; in the year of Christ 854; after the reign 1184. A vicious and odious king, his people made effeminate by his vices and sensuall pleasures; his nobles admonished him to reform his evil life, he continued still without reformation. The Picts that fled amongst the Englishmen, requested Osbred and Ella, two great princes of England, to move warres against the Scots. These two princes, with Englishmen, Britons, and Picts, came into the warres, where King Donaldus vanquished them in a great battell at Jedburgh. Donald, right insolent after this victorie, came to the water of Tweed with his armie, and found two ships laden with wines and victuals, which were taken and parted amongst his warriours. King Donald was given to such voracity and lust of his wombe, (the whole camp using the same,) and being full of tavernes, brothels, and whores, followed dicing and carding, with contention, killing one another. King Osbred being advertised hereof, preparing a new army, came suddenly on the Scots, and killed twenty thousand, being without armour, full of wine and sleep. And King Donald was taken in manner aforesaid, and led through the countrie in derision to all people.

At which time King Osbred conquered great lands in Scotland, assisted by Britons, so that Strivling bridge was made marches to Scots, Britons, and Englishmen. King Osbred coined money in the castle of Strivling, (by whom the Striviling money had first beginning). King Donald being ransomed, returned into Scotland, continuing in his vicious and abominable life. He was taken by his nobles and imprisoned, where he desperately killed himself, the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

71. Constantinus *secundus*, Kennethus *secundus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4829; in the year of Christ 859; after the reign 1189. A valiant king, he married the Prince of Wales his daughter; she bare to him two sons and one daughter. Hee instituted sundrie good lawes for churchmen, and repressed all vicious vices engendered amongst his subjects by Donald the tyrant, his predecessor. In whose time Hungar and Hubba, with a great fleete of Danes, landing in Fiffe, used great crueltie. A great number of religious persons being fled into the Isle of May, with Adrian their bishop, were all cruelly tormented and killed by the unmerciful Danes. Constantine came with a great army against Hubba, and vanquished him. The Scots being proud of this victory, and neglecting themselves, there followed a cruell and desperate battell; at last the Scots were vanquished, and King Constantine, with his nobles, and ten thousand of his army killed, the fifteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

72. Ethus, surnamed the Swift, Constantinus *secundus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4844; in the year of Christ 874; after the reign 1204. A luxurious prince, taken by his nobles and imprisoned, where he died the third day of melancholy, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

73. Gregorius *magnus*, Dongallus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4846; the year of Christ 876; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 1206. Hee was but two monthes old when his father perished in the water of Spey. A valiant and greatly renowned prince in all parts; he instituted good lawes for his subjects, and being very religious, ordained good lawes for churches and churchmen; and that all kings, his successors, at their coronation, should make their oath to defend the Christian religion. Hee obtained a great victory against the Danes and Britons; and recovering all his lands lost in King Donald's time, enlarged his bounds with Northumberland, Cumber, and Westmerland; and being confederate with Alurede, king of England, the aforesaid lands should remain perpetually to be possessed by the Scots. Then after, the king to repress Irishmen that were come into Scotland, who had robbed the people, and made sundry incursions, he followed with a great army, and landing in Ireland, vanquished Brennius and Cornelius, two princes of Ireland, with the whole nobles of Ireland, and vanquished sundry towns, and besieged Dublin with a strong siege, where their young prince Duncan was, to whom the crowne

of Ireland appertained. At last the towne was rendred, (and the king made protector during the prince's minority,) with all the forts, and three score pledges. The king returning with his victorious army, and the pledges of the nobles of Ireland: holding good peace the rest of his days, and died in peace the eighteenth yeare of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. He builded the city of Aberdene.

74. Donaldus *sextus*, son to Constantinus *secundus*, began his reign in the year of the world 4864; in the year of Christ 894; after the reign 1234. A valiant prince and godly; he punished with great severitie the blasphemers of the name of God: he married the king of Briton's daughter, who bare to him one son and a daughter. At this time Rowland, king of Denmark, gathered or conveened a great multitude of Danes out of England, Norway, Swedricke, and Denmark, and past through France, committing great crueltie upon the people there. And because Charles the Great then emperor, was implicat with frequent warres in Italy against the Sarazens, the Danes raged with such open crueltie, that great bounds of France appeared to become under their dominion. The Emperor Charles, after his return from Italy, came with a great armie to resist the Danes, and they (nothing afraid,) went forward to meet him in their awful manner. The princes of France, knowing the great ferocity of the Danes, proved and exercised in all parts where they were assayled, and seeing them by frequent victorie so insolent, that but by great slaughter they might not

be vanquished, perswaded the Emperor Charles to make peace with the said Rowland, that their realme should not be in jeopardy, or put to extream danger, through the warres both in Italy and France. Peace was corroborat and contracted with the Danes on this manner: The Emperor Charles his daughter should be given in marriage to Rowland, and hee, with all the Danes, should receive the Christian faith; and in the name of dowry, should have all the lands which were named Newstria, lying betwixt Deip, Picardy, Paris, and Bartany. These lands were then after Rowland called Normandy. Rowland made king of Normandy, by receipt of baptisme, was named Robert, and ordained to pay for the said lands one yearely tribute to the aforesaid Charles and his posteritie, to signifie that the said lands were not conquered, but only given from the crowne of France in marriage. The year that the Normans began to reign in Normandy, was from the incarnation of Christ, 886 yeares. The valiant deeds done by the Danes, in sundrie parts of the world, was in great admiration to all people. Rowland, called Robert, begat on the Emperor Charles his daughter, William, who succeeded after his father: to William succeeded Richard the first: to him succeeded Richard the second, who had two sons, Robert and Gustard: Robert begat William the bastard, Duke of Normandy, who conquered England, and vanquished both Englishmen and Danes, and possest the crowne thereof: and Gustard past into Italy, and made many cruell invasions in Cicill, Calabre, and Naples. In this time the

Murrayes and Rosses invading each other with cruell killing, 2000 men were killed on either parties; the king came upon them with a great army, and punished the principal movers of this trouble to death. He died in peace the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

75. Constantinus *tertius*, Ethus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4875; in the year of Christ 905; after the reign 1245. A valiant prince, not fortunat in warres; he married the Prince of Wales his daughter, who bare to him one son: being vexed with warres in the time of King Edward, and Athelstane his bastard son, he became a chanon in Saint Andrews, and died the fortieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

76. Milcolumbus *primus*, Donaldus *sextus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4913; in the year of Christ 943; after the reign 1283. A valiant prince and good justicer; hee married the Lord of Twylth's daughter, who bare to him two sons and one daughter. A confederacy was made between England and Scotland, that Cumber and Westmerland should be perpetually annexed to the prince of Scotland reigning for the time, to be holden in fee of the kings of England. By vertue whereof, Indulfus, son to Constantine the third, (as prince of Scotland), tooke possession both of Cumber and Westmerland. The king passed the rest of his dayes in peace and severe justice, which caused a conspiracy in Murray-land, where this noble king was trayterously killed the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolm-

kill. The murtherers and their assistants all apprehended, were cruelly tormented and put to death.

77. Indulfus, Constantinus *tertius* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4922; in the year of Christ 952; after the reign 1282. A noble and valiant prince; he vanquished in battell Hagon, prince of Norway, and Helrick, prince of Denmark, and was killed by a stratagem of warre the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

78. Duffus, Milcolumbus *primus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4931; the year of Christ 961; after the reign 1291; a good prince and severe justicer. Hee was traiterously murthered by one Donald, captaine of Forres, and his wife, and buried under a bridge at Kinlus, the sun nor moone not shining in six monthes after. The murtherers being apprehended, were severely executed and put to death, the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

79. Culenus, Indulfus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4936; the year of Christ 966; after the reign 1296. He was married to the king of Briton's daughter, a vicious prince; he was killed by Rodardus, a nobleman, at Meffen, whose daughter he had deflowred, the fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

80. Kennethus *tertius*, Duffus brother, began his reign in the year of the world 4940; in the year of Christ 970; after the reign 1300. A valiant and wise prince, and severe justicer; for one time he caused 500 notable thieves to be hanged on

gibbets, and inhibited their bodies to be taken down, beside the castle of Bertha, to give example to others. The Danes with a great fleet of shipes, arrived at the mouth of Tay, and destroyed the town of Mountrose, killing all the people, and demolishing the walles, wasting the whole country, and coming through Angus with great crueltie, laying a strong siege to the castle of Bertha. The king came with a great armie, there followed a dangerous and cruell battell, with uncertaine victory, valiantly defended on both sides. At last one Haye, with his two sons, enforcing the Scots that were fled, to return, and by their valiant courage renewed battell; the Danes were vanquished, and fled, the most part of them being slaine. The king enriched Haye and his sons, giving them a great part of the spoyle of the Danes, with as much land as a falcon off a man's hand flew over, until she lighted at a place called the falcon's stone. So he obtained the whole lands betweene Tay and Arrole, six miles of length, and four of breadth. This was the beginning of the noble and ancient surname of Hayes, decorate with great honours, riches, and lands, valiant defenders of the realme of Scotland. This noble king, (so long decorate with justice), the blind and immoderate affection that he had to his son, was occasion that he killed by poyson Malcolme, prince of Scotland, and lord of Cumber and Westmerland. Hee abrogated the old lawes concerning the kings, and instituted new, viz. the king being deceased, his eldest son or nephew, notwithstanding what age soever he were

of, and though he were borne after his father's death, should succeed to the crowne. The nephew by the king's son should be preferred before the nephew by the king's daughter, and the nephew gotten by the king's brother, should be preferred before the nephew gotten on his sister. These lawes to be observed amongst all other nobles in succession of their heritage. When the king is young, one nobleman of great prudence and authority shall be chosen governour of the realme, until the king come to the age of fourteen yeares, and then the king to governe his realme by his own authoritie. All other inheritors shall succeed to their father's heritage, after the expiration of one and twentie yeares, and within that time they shall be governed by curators or guardians, and until those years be outrun, they shall not be admitted to claime their heritage. Hee proclaimed his sonne Malcolme prince of Scotland, and lord of Cumber and Westmerland. Once when the king was lying in his bed, he heard a voice saying, O Kenneth, believe not that the cursed killing of Prince Malcolme is hid from God: O thou unhappy tyrant, which (for desire of the crowne), hast killed an innocent, invading thy neighbour with treasonable murther, which thou wouldst have punished with most rigour, if it had beene done by any other person than thy selfe; therefore thou hast incurred such hatred of God, that thou and thy son shall be suddenly killed, for thy nobles are conspired against thee. The king was greatly afraid of this voice, and being very penitent, con-

fessed his offence to a bishop, who comforting him, he did sundrie good workes appertaining to a Christian prince. At the last, King Kenneth coming to the castle of Fethercairn, was (as appeared) thankfully received by Fenella, lady thereof, where, in the middle of the castle, most curiously wrought, the same being apparelled with tapestries of gold and silke, overlayed or thicked with copper, was an image of brasse, made to the similitude of the king, with a golden apple in his hand. The king perceiving the same, (suspecting no treason,) counselled by the said lady, being alone in the tower, tooke the apple with violence out of the hand of the image. Immediately the titups of the crossbowes, which the said image had in his hand, were thrown up, (being made with such engine), and one of them shot the king through the body. The lady fled. There he died the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

81. Constantinus *quartus*, surnamed Caluus, Culenus son, began to reign (usurping the crown) in the year of the world 4964; in the year of Christ 994; after the reign 1324. He was killed in battell at the town of Crawmond, in Louthian, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

82. Grimus, Duffus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4966; in the year of Christ 996; after the reign 1326. A vicious usurper of the crowne, killed in battell by Malcolme his successor, the eight year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

83. Milcolumbus *secundus*, Kennethus *tertius* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4974; in the year of Christ 1004; after the reign 1334. A valiant and wise king; he was often victorious against the Danes. In his time began the noble and ancient name of Keith, whose house is decorated with great honours, being marshal of Scotland. The king repaired and enlarged the citie of Aberdene, then called Murthlacke. Hee was killed by a conspiracie of some of his nobles in the castle of Glammess, the thirtieth year of his reign, having married the Duke of Normandy's daughter, who bare to him three sonnes and two daughters; and he was buried in Icolmkill. The murtherers fled in the night, and chanced into the loch or poole of Forfar, being frozen over, covered with snow, and were all drowned therein, by the righteous judgement of God.

84. Duncanus *primus*, Malcolme *secundus* daughter Beatrix her son, began to reign in the year of the world 5004; in the year of Christ 1034; after the reign 1364. A good and modest prince. In his time was Thane, or Earl of Lochquhaber, Banquho. Of whom are descended the ancient and royal name of Stewarts. He was traiterously killed by Macbeth, the sixth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

85. Macbethus, (Dowoda, Malcolme *secundus* daughter's son,) began to reign in the year of the world 5010; in the year of Christ 1040; after the reign 1370. In the beginning he was a valiant prince and severe justicer, instituting many good lawes; at last, by illusion of witches and sorcer-

ers, he became a cruell tyrant and oppressor, and being vanquished by his successor, King Malcolme Canmore, was killed by Macduff, Thane or Earl of Fiffe, the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

86. Milcolumbus *tertius*, surnamed Canmore, Duncan *primus* son, began to reign in the year of the world 5027; in the year of Christ 1057; after the reign 1387. He was a religious and valiant king, he rewarded his nobles with great lands and offices, and commanded that the lands and offices should be called after their names. Hee created many earles, lords, barons, and knights. They that were called thanes, as Fiffe, Menteith, Athole, Lennox, Murray, Caithnes, Ros, Angusse, were made earles; many new surnames began at that time, as Calder, Lockhart, Gordoun, Seytonne, Lawder, Kennethy, Wavane, Meldrome, Schaw, Liermond, Liberton, Strachquhan, Cargil, Retray, Dondas, Cockburn, Mertoun, Menzies, Abercrumbie, Lesly. Names of offices, steward, durward, bannerman. At this time William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England, holding battell with King Harold, and killed him in the year of Christ 1066. Edgar, within age, rightful heir of England, seeing the crowne conquered, was desperate to succeed any way to the government. To eschew all apparent danger, he took shipping with purpose to return with his mother and sisters in Ungerland: by contrary winds, he arrived in Forth, in a part called the Queenes Ferry. King Malcolme was at that time in Dumfermling, who came and tenderly

received the said Edgar, with his mother and sisters, and married Margaret, eldest sister to the said Edgar. William the conqueror hearing of his marriage, expelled all the friends of the said Edgar; wherefore there came into Scotland many people to king Malcolme, whom he received, and gave them lands; as these surnames, Lyndesay, Vaus, Ramsay, Lowvell, Towres, Preston, Sandelands, Bissart, Sowles, Wardlaw, Maxwell. And sundry names came out of Ungerland to Queen Margaret, as Creichton, Fotheringham, Giffard, Mellwill, Borthuike. Out of France came into Scotland, Fraser, Sinclair, Boswell, Moutray, Montgomerie, Cambell, Boyes, Beton, Taylifer, and Bothwell. In King Malcolme's time was the redcrosse erected, with the king of England's image on the one side, and the king of Scotland's on the other. This stone crosse was a march, or mark, betweene the two realmes, standing in the middle of Stan-moore. At this time Walter, sonne to Fleance, begotten on the Prince of Wales daughter, came into Scotland, being thankfully received of King Malcolme, who shortly thereafter subdued sundry rebels, with the rebels of the Isles; for which diligence and valiant high vassalage, the said Walter was by the king created high steward of Scotland; which name the ancient and royal name of Stewarts, hath enjoyed to this day. Thereafter, a new rebellion began in the north, where the king and his army coming to the water of Spey, perceiving his standard-bearer to shrink, and not to shew a cheerful countenance, he pulled the banner from him, and gave it to Sir Alexander

Carron, who by his new office, obtained faire landes. The king caused to be repaired the bishop sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Murthlake, now Aberdene, and erected the bishop sees of Murray and Caithness. He caused to be built from the ground the church and abbey of Durham, and the church and abbey of Dunfermling, ordaining from thenceforth the same to be the sepulture of the kings. He abrogated that wicked law made by King Evenus *tertius*, ordaining half a marke to redeeme a woman's chastitie, called mersets of women. Queen Margaret, foresaid daughter to Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, sonne to Edward Ironside, a very religious queen, after called St. Margaret, bare unto King Malcolme six sonnes, Edward the prince, Edmund, Etheldred, Edgar, Alexander, and David, and two daughters, Matilda, or Mawde, surnamed Bona, wife to Henry the Fourth, surnamed Beauclerke, king of England, of whose vertues are extant an epigram:

Prosperitie rejoyced her not, to her griefe was no payne,
Prosperitie affrayde her als, affliction was her gayne.
Her beautie was no cause of fall, in royall state nor pryde,
Humble alone in dignitie, in beautie onely good.

She founded the church of Carleil. The other daughter was married to Eustatius, Earle of Bol-

loigne. King Malcolme was killed at the siege of Anwik, by one Robert Mowbray, who unarmed, upon a light horse, came out of the castle of Anwik, with a launce in his hand, the keyes of the castle upon the point of the launce. King Malcolme looking earnestly thereunto, the aforesaid Robert Mowbray ran the king through the left eye, and ran hastily into the next wood. King William the conqueror changed the name of this valiant knight, calling him Percey, of whom are descended the earls of Northumberland. King Malcolme died the thirty sixth year of his reign, and his son, Prince Edward, and both were buried in Dumfermling.

87. Donaldus *septimus*, Malcolme Canmore his brother, surnamed Bane, (usurped the crowne,) and began to reign in the year of the world 5063; in the year of Christ 1093; after the reign 1423; He was expelled by Duncan, bastard son of the foresaid Malcolme, the first year of his reign.

88 Duncanus *secundus*, bastard aforesaid, (usurping the crowne) was killed by Mak-pender, thane of Mernis, by procurement of Donald the seventh, who was afterwards crowned. Hee gave the north and west isles to the King of Norway, to have his assistance to recover the crowne; hee was taken captive by his nobles, and his eyes put out; hee died miserably in prison, the third yeare of his second reign, and was buried in Dunfermling.

89. Edgarus, Malcolme Canmore's sonne, began to reign in the yeare of the world 5068; in the yeare of Christ 1098; after the reign 1428; a good and religious king, the first anoynted

king. He builded the Priory of Coldingham, and dyed peaceably the ninth yeare of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling, without succession.

90. Alexander the first, surnamed the Fierce, succeeded his brother, in the yeare of the world 5077; in the yeare of Christ 1098; after the reign 1437; a good and valiant king. Hee builded the castle of Baledgar, to represse theeves. Certaine traytors, entering the king's chamber, by convoy of the chamberlaine, through a privie, in purpose to have killed the king in his bed, by God's providence the king started out of his bed, and caught a sword in his hand, and first killed his chamberlaine, and by singular manhood six of the other traytors. The rest fled, and being sharply pursued, certaine of them were taken, and being hardly examined, confessed that sunderie noblemen were conspired against the king, who raising a great army, pursued the traytors, and sent Sir Alexander Carron, with a chosen number of the armie, who, in the king's presence, with a crooked sword, fought valiantly, and killed many of the rebels. The king changed his name, calling him Scrimgeour, that is, a hardy fighter, rewarding him with many lands, of whom are descended the noble name of Scrimgeours, his arms being encreased with a rampant lyon, holding a crooked sword. Hee builded the Abbeyes of Scone and Saint Colme's Inch. Hee married Sibilla, daughter to William, duke of Normandy, the seventeenth year of his reign.

He died in peace, and was buried in Dumfermling.

91. David *primus*, called St. David, King Malcolme the third's youngest sonne, began his reign in the year of the world 5094; the year of Christ 1124; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 1454; a good, valiant, and very religious king. Hee builded many abbeyes, as Holyrood-house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Newbottel, Holmcultrane, Dundranane, Cambuskenneth, Kinlosse, Dumfermling, Holme in Cumber; two nunneries, one at Carleil, the other at North-Berwick. Hee founded two Abbeyes besides Newcastle, the one of St. Benedict's order, the other of white Monkes. Hee founded four bishopricks, Ros, Breichin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, ordaining them great lands, rents, and possessions, all out of the patrimonie of the crowne. King David of Scotland, in his time possessed Northumberland, Cumber, Huntington, and Westmerland. Hee married the inheritrix of the aforesaid lands, called Maude, daughter to the earle of Northumberland and Juditha, daughter's daughter to William the Conqueror, King of England. In the time of King Stephen of England, hee repaired the town of Carleil with new walles. His son, Prince Henry, died with great lamentation of the whole realme, having three sons and three daughters. King David caused Malcolme, (eldest sonne unto Prince Henry, late deceased) to be declared Prince of Scotland. After that he past into Northumberland, and made William, his second nephew, earle thereof.

After hee went to Carleil, where he made Henry (the empresse sonne, prince of England) knight, taking oathe hee should never take Northumberland, Cumber, Westmerland, and Huntington, from the empire of Scotland. Queen Mawde deceased in flourishing age, a woman of exceeding chastitie and beauty: she was buried in Scone, in anno 1132. King David took such griefe for her death, that he would not marrie again, nor accompany with any woman, but gave himself wholly to charity, and relieving of poor people. He purged his court from all vices, so that his whole family were given to exercise of virtue; no riotous banqueting, nor surfeiting cheare, nor lascivious words, nor wanton songs were suffered, (to provoke sensual lust;) all their words and works tending to good and godly uses, nothing moving to strife, but all things ordered peaceably, with brotherly love, after the example of their king. Afterwards this victorious and religious King David died in peace, being greatly honoured and beloved of his subjects and neighbours, the twenty-ninth year of his reign; hee died in Carleil, and was buried in Dunfermling. King James the first, visiting his tombe, called him a sore saint to the crowne.

92. Milcolumbus *quartus*, sirnamed the Mayden, nephew to King David, began his reign in the year of the world 5123; in the year of Christ 1153; after the reign 1483; a good and milde prince, and severe justiciar, repressing many rebels. He killed and put forth all the Murrayes out of Murrayland. He founded the Abbey of

St. Andrews magnificently. He builded Cowper Abbey in Anguisse, and subdued sundrie rebellions; he died at Jedburgh, the twelfth year of his reign, and was buried in Dumfermling.

93. Gulielmus, sirnamed the Lyon, succeeded his brother Malcolme, in the year of the world 5135; in the year of Christ 1165; after the reign 1495; a good and valiant king, unfortunate. Hee married Emigerda, daughter to the earle of Bewmont, who bare to him two sonnes and two daughters. He builded the Abbey of Abirbrothok; she builded the Abbey of Bamerinoch; at the same time the Abbey of Haddington was founded by the king's mother. And David, earl of Huntington, returning from the Holy-land, being in great danger upon the seas, arrived at length in Tay, (without either rudder or tackle,) at a place then called Alectum, now called Dundee, he founded the Abbey of Lundores, where there are great abundance of adders, doing hurt to no man. At this time the pope sent his legate to King William, with a sword, the sheath and hilts of gold, set full of precious stones, with a hat or diadem, calling him, Defender of the church. King William being at Yorke with King John of England, there was a nobleman's child, of great beauty, being heir to great possessions, having sundry contrary diseases, uncurable by any phisicians, cured by King William, as appeared by miracle, he being so godly a prince, who gave fair possessions to many abbeys, and erected the bishop's see of Ardgile, with sufficient lands, and came to Bertha, where he remained not long; but there chanced such an inundation

of the two rivers Tay and Almond, that through violence of the streams the towne walles were borne down, and many people drowned. The castle demolished, (King William narrowly escaping with his wife and children,) his young sonne and nurse perished, and sundry others. He founded and builded the towne called Perth, and granted sundrie great privileges thereunto, now called St. John's town. The king continuing in peace, died the forty-ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Aberbrothick.

94. Alexander *secundus* succeeded his father in the year of the world 5184; in the year of Christ 1214; after the reign 1544; a valiant and good king, and severe justiciar. Hee pacified all rebellion in his realm. Hee agreed with King Henry of England, and married his sister, retaining Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumber, and Huntington; and King Alexander's two sisters were married unto two great princes of England. Hee past into France, and renewed the ancient band, and that neither of the princes should receive the enemies of the other's realme, nor to marry with any stranger, the one not making the other privy thereto. In the mean time, Jane, his queen, died without any succession. The next year he married, at Roxborrow, Mary, daughter to Ingelram, Earle of Coucy, in France, of great beauty, who bare to him a son, Alexander, who succeeded after him. Hee died in peace the five and thirty year of his reign, and was buried at Melrosse.

95. Alexander *tertius* succeeded his father in the year of the world 5219; in the year of Christ

1249; after the reign 1579; a good young prince, being at his coronation nine years of age. After that the Kings of England and Scotland, with their nobles, conveened in York, where King Henry the third's daughter of England, Margaret, was married to King Alexander of Scotland. Enduring his tender age, the realme of Scotland was well governed by his nobles. He coming to perfect age, willing to execute justice, summoned the Earles of Menteith, Athole, and Buchquhan, and the Lord of Strabogy, which were all of the name of Cummings, and for non-appearance denounced them rebels. They, with their assistants, being a great number, because there were of the same name (by the aforesaid lords) thirtie knights and landed men, imprisoned the king in Striviling a certain space. King Acho of Norway came into the isles with many Danes. King Alexander, to resist him, came with a great army. There followed a dangerous and cruell battell, long with uncertaine victorie; at last the Danes being vanquished, and foure and twenty thousand of them killed, Acho fled to his ships: his whole navy, by tempestuous storms, being spoyled, returned with four ships, left of his whole fleete, into Norway. Then after, his sonne Magnus, renouncing all title to the isles, contracted his sonne Hanigo, to be married with King Alexander's daughter, one year of age, at their both perfect age. About this time lived that notable outlaw, Robin Hood, an Englishman, with his fellow Little John, a Scottishman, of whom are many fables and merry jests. At this time Alex

ander, Earle of Carrike, past to the Holy-land, having a daughter, Martha, who succeeded in his heritage, married a nobleman, Robert Bruce, sonne and heire to Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Lord of Cleveland in England. This Martha aforesaid, inheritrix of Carrike, in the third year bare the noble and invincible champion, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. Margaret, sister to King Henry the third of England, bare to King Alexander two sonnes, Prince Alexander and David, and one daughter, Margaret, married unto Hanigo, Magnus sonne, King of Norway, who bare to him Margaret, called the Mayden of Norway. In this time died David, King Alexander's second sonne. King Alexander, with his queene, being at London, at the coronation of King Edward the first, there was a Norman in King Edward's court, of passing strength, overthrowing all men in wrestling, till at length a Scottishman of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, called Ferquhard, vanquished him, to his great praise. King Alexander, in reward of so worthie a deed, done in presence of so honourable assemblie, gave unto him the Earledome of Rosse for ever, of whom descended lineally five earles; the sixth earle was named William Rosse, *alias* Lesly, in whose sonne, the seventh earle, failed the dignitie of that house, for want of succession. Alexander the prince was married at Roxburgh, unto the Earle of Flanders' daughter, whereat many of the nobles of Scotland and England were present for the time. The third year after, Prince Alexander died at Lundores, the twen-

tieth year of his age, to the great lamentation of the whole realme: for in him failed the whole succession of King Alexander the Third, except the Mayden of Norway, who was gotten on his daughter Margaret before rehearsed. King Alexander, by counsell of his nobles, (after the death of the first queene,) married Joleta, the Earle of Drux daughter in France, by whom hee had no succession. Hee builded Crosse Church of Peblis. In his time came the pestilence first in Scotland. Hee died of a fall of his horse, over the west craig at Kinghorne, the thirty seventh year of his reign, and was buried in Dunfermling. The day before the king's death, the Earle of Marche demanded of one Thomas Rymour, what weather should be to-morrow. Thomas answered, that on the morrow before noone, there should blow the greatest wind that ever was heard in Scotland. On the morrow, being almost noone, the ayre appearing calme, the earle sent for the said Thomas, and reproving him, said there was no appearance. Thomas answering, Yet noone is not past. Immediately cometh a post, and sheweth that the king was falne and killed. Then Thomas said to the earle, That is the wind that shall blow, to the great calamitie of all Scotland. After the death of King Alexander the third, the realme was governed by six regents: for the south side of Forth, Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, John Cumming, and John, the great Steward of Scotland; for the north side of Forth, William Fraser, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Makduffe, Earle of Fiffe, and John Cumming,

Earle of Buchquhane. They governed the space of seven years. During which time, Edward the first, King of England, sent his ambassadors into Scotland, for marriage of the Mayden of Norway aforesaid. The nobles of Scotland being agreed in all poynts with the said Edward, sirnamed Longshanks, the ambassadours of Scotland directed to bring the Mayden of Norway, the right inheritrix of Scotland with them. Before their arriving, she was departed this present life; by means whereof, great contention arose betweene Robert Bruce and John Balioll. The deciding of the said matter was, by the nobles of Scotland, unwisely referred to the said King Edward.

96. Johannes Baliollus was preferred before Robert Bruce, by King Edward, (sirnamed Longshanks,) who being elected judge in the foresaid controversie, admitted him king, with condition that the said Balioll should acknowledge him for his superiour; which condition (refused by Robert Bruce) he, as an avaricious unworthie man, received, and began to reign in the year of the world 5263; in the year of Christ 1293; after the reign 1623; a vaine glorious man, little respecting the good of his countrie. In the fourth year he was expelled by the aforesaid king Edward, into France, where he died long after in exile, Scotland being without king or governour for the space of nine years; during which time, King Edward cruelly oppressed the land, destroyed the whole ancient monuments, and shedde much innocent blood. About this time, William

Wallace, sonne to Andrew Wallace of Craigy, knight, of huge stature, and marvelous strength of body, with good knowledge and skill in warlike enterprises, and also such hardinesse of stomach, in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not any where lightly to be found. Hee bare inward hate against the English nation. When the fame of his worthie acts was notified, many nobles and commons were ready to assist him: therefore he was chosen governour under the Balioll, to deliver the realme from the bondage of England. At this time many abbeys and spiritual benefices were in Englishmen's hands, which he by commission of the archbishop of St. Andrews avoided, and put forth of all parts, and receiving the whole army that was under the conduct of John Cumming, Earle of Bucquhan; he conquered many castles, forts, and strengths, out of Englishmen's hands. King Edward being in France, hearing thereof, sent his lieutenant Hugh Crassingham, with a great army into Scotland, where William Wallace encountering him at Striviling bridge, killed the said Crassingham, with the most part of his army, many being drowned, and few escaping away with life. Great dearth being in Scotland, he gathered a mighty army and past into Northumberland, wasting and spoyling the countrie to Newcastle; for he with his army remained in England almost the whole winter, from the feast of All Saints, untill Candlemass, living upon the spoyle of Englishmen's goods. King Edward being in France, hearing the deeds of Wallace, sent his ambassa-

dour, sore menacing him, that he had invaded his realme, which he durst not have done if he had been at home. Wallace answered, that hee had taken the advantage as he had done in the wrongfull conquest of Scotland, (he being chosen by the nobles as indifferent judge): and further, sent word unto King Edward, that (if God fortune him to live,) he purposed to hold his Easter in England; and comming with an armie of thirtie thousand valiant men into England, at the appoynted time, King Edward was ready with an army of three score thousand upon Staines Moor to give them battle. Being ready to joyne, the Englishmen drew back, having at that time no lust to fight as appeared. The Scots seeing them draw back, would have followed, but Wallace, fearing deceit, stayed them, and returned (with infinit spoyle and bootyes gotten in that journey) into Scotland. King Edward being advertised that Wallace was greatly envied by the Cumings and Robert la Bruce, raised a great army and came to Falkirke; and Wallace not knowing of any deceit, raysed a great armie to resist, being in sight of Englishmen. There began a great contention for the leading of the vanguard, and by their owne misgovernance, many noblemen were killed. Robert Bruce was against the Scottishmen that day. Shortly then after, Wallace came and renounced in Perth the government, and also refused great and large offers of King Edward, to be his subject and true man, for he remembered his school lesson, which was this:

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito fili.

My sonne (I say), freedome is best,
Then never yeeld to thralls arrest.

John Cumming and Simon Fraser being admitted governours, King Edward sent a great army to Perth, subduing the countrie. The aforesaid governours raised an army of eight thousand of valiant men. King Edward sent with Ralph Comfray thirtie thousand men, dividing them in three armies, and to passe in three sundrie parts through the country, and to meet at Rosling. The governours aforesaid, encountering with the first ten thousand, defeated them; and so at three sundry times in one day, the Scots obtained the victorie. King Edward, impatient hereof, gathered a mightie armie of sundrie nations, and subdued with great cruelty the most part of the Scottish nation. At this time began the surname of Forbes, then being called Alexander Boyes, for killing of a beare by singular manhood. About this time was William Wallace trayterously betrayed by Sir John Menteith at Glasgow, and delivered to King Edward; and being brought to London, was cruelly executed in Smithfield. King Edward accused Robert Bruce of a contract made betwixt him and John Cumming; and he stoutly denying the same, was advertised by the Earle of Glocester of the king's displeasure; causing a smith to shoe his horses backward, in the

winter, the ground being covered with snow, hee came into Scotland, howbeit he was sharply pursued; and meeting with his brother and some friends, and being advertised that the Cumming was in the Fryers at Dumfries, after hard communing, he suddenly killed him, where through he purchased many enemies, both Englishmen and Scottishmen, and was hardly pursued, especially by the Cummings, being then very potent and rich, and a great number of them.

97. Robertus Brussius, nephew to Isabell, second daughter to David Earle of Huntington, King William's brother, began his reign in the year of the world 5276; in the year of Christ 1306; after the reign 1636. A valiant king, good and wise, (in his beginning subject to great affliction); his queene was taken and detayned prisoner untill the battell of Bannockburne; his three brothers, Nigell, Thomas, and Alexander, with many other noblemen and gentlemen of King Robert's side, were executed at Carleil and Berwick; but being assisted by the Earle of Lennox and Gilbert Hay, and specially by James Dowglasse, a valiant man, (and cousen to William Lamberton, archbishop of St. Andrews,) took all his gold and horses, (the bishop being privy thereunto,) with sundrie young valiant men of his opinion, who remained with the said King Robert both in warres and peace, to the end of his life. Of this James Dowglasse descended the valiant and illuster surname of Dowglasse, the sure target and defence of Scotland, as these old verses show:

So many good as of the Dowglasse hath beene,
Of one surname was never in Scotland seene.

King Robert having vanquished King Edward the second of Carnarven, being of sundry nations, of horse and foot three hundred thousand warriours, and King Robert not above thirtie thousand, old, well exercised, valiant men, at the battell of Bannockburne, delivered Scotland free from all servitude of England, all Englishmen being expelled out of the land. He married first Isabell, daughter to the Earle of Marre, who bare to him Margery, married to Walter the great steward of Scotland; after her death, he married the daughter of Haymerus de Burck, Earl of Hultonia, or Hulster, in Ireland; who bare to him David the prince, Margaret, Countesse of Sudderland, and Mawde, that dyed young. John Balioll transferred his right of the crowne of Scotland unto King Robert and his heyres. King Robert rewarded Robert Fleming (who assisted him in killing of the Cumming) with the lands of Cumbernald, then belonging to the Cumming. Also two knights of Brabant, being first in the English camp, and moved at some reproachfull words spoken against King Robert, being sent to King Robert's camp by King Edward, were highly rewarded by King Robert; who returning to Antwerpe, builded a goodly house, called Scotland, causing the Scottish armes, with the picture of the Bruce, to bee set up therein, and appointed it a house for the Scottish nation, as may appeare unto this day. In this time, Hamton, an Englishman, descended

of noble parentage, for the killing of one Spencer, came into Scotland, and was courteously received by King Robert, who rewarded him with the lands of Cadyow, whose posterity is spread in great number, now called Hamiltons, endowed with great honour and riches. King Robert dyed at Cardrose, the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Dumfermling. After this time Sir James Dowglasse, (as most worthie champion), was chosen by the nobles to passe with King Robert's heart to Jerusalem, and there to cause the same to be buried within the temple, beside the sepulcher of our Lord, conforme to the said king's direction, because he had avouched, or vowed, to have past with a great army in defence of the Christian faith, against the Turkes and Sarazens, (if he had not beene hindred or stayed by warres, at home,) and now prevented by death. Sir James Dowglasse willingly obeyed, as he that most faithfully had served King Robert in his life time; and inclosing his heart in a case of gold, enbalmed with sweete spices and precious oyntments, accompanied with Sir William Sinclair and Sir Robert Logane, with many other noble and valiant men, past and buried the said heart with great reverence and solemnity, at the place appoynted. Therefore the Dowglasse beares the bloody heart in their armes or coat. Thereafter, Sir James Dowglasse, with his noble and valiant men, accompanied with other Christian princes then present, many times obtained great victorie against the Turkes and Sarazens; so that by his often victories, he purchased great honours to the

Christian name: he purposing to returne home, by tempestuous winds was compelled to land in Spaine, upon the borders of Granad, where he assisted the king of Aragon in his warres against the Sarazens, obtayned great victories. At last, (being negligent of himselfe,) was inclosed with an ambushment, purposely laid for him by the Sarazens. He and his, most valiantly defending, were vanquished and killed, with all his nobles and valiant men. Thus ended the noble and valiant Dowglasse, one of the most worthie and renowned knights that was in his dayes. It is chronicled, that he was victorious against the Turkes and Sarazens thirteene times, and against Englishmen in battell, fifty seven times. In memorie of the Dowglasse, in our time, there was a port or gate in Danskin, called the Dowglasse port, now re-edified sumptuously, (called the Hochindure,) the high port. Also there are sundry earles in the easterne parts of that name, and specially one was called Grave, or Earle Scotus, a great nicromancer; his title was Ieronimus Scotus, Grave, or Earle of Dowglasse: his brethren dwell in Italy.

98. David Brussius succeeded his father in the year of the world 5300; in the year of Christ 1330; after the reign 1660. A good prince, subject to much affliction in his youth; he being seven yeares of age, the Earle of Murray, Thomas Randall, a severe justiciar, and a very valiant man, was continued governour; for he ruled all Scotland the last foure yeares of King Robert's reign, under whose government the realme of

Scotland flourished in wealth and riches, (for the rush bush keeped the kow). King Edward of England advertised hereof, envying the prosperous estate of the Scots, he thought good to attempt that by slight, which he could not doe by force; and finding a monke fit for this purpose, who did promise to poyson the aforesaid governour, the monke fayned himself to bee a physicioner, and to cure the stone and gravel, (wherewith the governour was sore vexed,) and being in credit with the Earle, at last he poysoned him, howbeit, at the first it took no effect. The monke returning to King Edward, showed him how hee had poysoned the governour; who immediately raysing a great army, came to the borders: the Earle advertised hereof, raysed a great power; and though he was not able to ride nor goe, hee was carried in a litter. King Edward hearing that the Earle was in person there, (contrary to his expectation,) sent a herauld to the Earle to entreat for a counterfeit peace: the governour finding himselfe very weake, and hearing of the herauld's coming, arrayed himselfe in sumptuous apparell, that it might appeare he was rather recovered, than otherwise weake and feeble; and giving a sharpe and bold answere to the herauld, he gave him also his costly apparell. King Edward expected the returning of the herauld, who reporting that the governour was in health, returned and dimitted his army, and caused the monke to be burnt, for deceiving of his prince. The governour returning home, deceased at Musselborow, and was buried at Dumfermling, *anno*

1331. After his death, Patricke, Earle of March, and David, Earle of Marre, were chosen governours. Edward Balioll, assisted by King Edward, and by many Scottishmen, fugitives in England, (promised to hold the crowne of the said King Edward,) entered Scotland by sea, accompanied with the Lord Stafford, and divers other captaines, notwithstanding the contract of marriage past between King David and King Edward's sister. The Earles of Marre and March, governours, raysed two mightie armies to resist the Balioll; the Balioll came near the water of Erne, and the Earle of Marre incamped within sight of the English army; and seeing their small number, did take small regard of himselfe. The Balioll in the night passed the water of Erne, and having intelligence of the foord, by a stake set up of purpose, he entred the Earle of Marre's camp, and killed him in his bed, with many other nobles, and especially Robert Bruce, Earle of Carrick, Alexander Fraser, knight, William Hay, constable of Scotland, with all his linage, so wholly, that had not his wife beene great bellyed, and afterwards delivered of a sonne, all his surname had beene utterly extinguished: also Robert Keith, marshal, with sundrie other noblemen and commons, and many others, were taken. The Balioll past immediately and besieged Perth, and quickly entered it by force. The Earle of March, the other governour, being encamped at Ochterarder, and hearing of the death of the Earle of Marre, and the winning of the towne of Perth, came with his army and besieged the said towne,

and filled the ditches, that if hee had given the assault, hee might have entred. Hee suddainly raised his campe, to the great dammage of the whole nation.

99. Edward Baliollus, sonne to John Balioll, assisted by King Edward the third, usurped the crowne, the year of the world 5302; in the year of Christ 1332; after the reign 1662. The king being in Perth, the parties that favoured King Bruce, besieged him: whereupon the Lord Maxwell, with them of Galloway, invaded the lands of them that did besiege the Balioll: wherefore Earle Patrick, the new Earle of Murray, with the Lord Andrew Murray, and Lord Archbald Dowglasse, entered Galloway, and destroyed all the countrie with fire and sword. The King Balioll fortifyed the town of Perth, and appoynted the Earle of Fife to the keeping thereof. The sonnes of them that were killed at the battell of Duppling, Robert Keith, Alexander Lyndsay, James and Simon Fraser, wonne Perth in the third month after they had laid siege thereunto; and taking the Earle of Fife, committed him to the castle of Kildrummy. Andrew Murray of Tullybarden was beheaded. The towne being wonne, was put to the keeping of John Lyndsay: thereafter, John Randall, Earle of Murray, son to the Earle Thomas (of famous memory), and Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, and brother to James Dowglasse killed in Spaine, with Simon Fraser and others, gathered a great army, and came with the same against the Balioll, and vanquished him, killed his nobles, and tooke many

prisoners. After this victory, Andrew Murray, a man of great puissance and possessions, was chosen to be governour with the Earle of March. These two governours hearing that the king of England was intended to invade Scotland with a great army, sent Sir Alexander Seyton to Berwick, with other gentlemen, for defence thereof. The new governour, Andrew Murray, in a skirmish which he made at the bridge of Rocksborough, pursuing over sharply in the chase, was inclosed and taken ere he could be rescued. At the same time, William Dowglasse, Lord of Liddesdale, named for his manhood the flower of chivalrie, sonne to Sir James Dowglasse, oft before mentioned, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noblemen, thus taken prisoners, were detayned long in captivitie, and then ransomed for a great sum of gold. The realme being thus divided, the one part assisting the Balioll, the other assisting King David; King Edward of England judging it a fit time for him to make a full conquest of Scotland, raysed a mighty army, both of Englishmen and strangers. The Scottish nobles sent the Earle of Murray into France to King David, to purchase aid of the French king. In the mean time, the king of England besieged Berwick, which was mightily defended by the Scots; at which time, Archbald Dowglasse was chosen governour in the place of Andrew Murray, who raising a mighty army, past to the borders of England, so to withdraw King Edward from the siege of Berwick. King Edward advertised hereof, sent a messenger to

Alexander Seyton, captaine of the towne, to deliver the towne presently into his hands, or else he would hang his two sons whom he had in his hands. Sir Alexander refused: his two sons were hanged. Then the governour, Archbald Dowglasse, came with an army into Northumberland, where a cruell battell was foughten on Halidonhill, and the governour killed, with many nobles, and then Berwick was rendred, and Edward Balioll established king, who sought by all means to have gotten Robert Stewart in his hands; for he knew he had (next unto King David) title to the crowne. Hee being of the age of fifteene yeares, was convoyed to Dumbreyton, and received by Malcolme Flemming, captaine thereof. King Edward prepared an army both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland, but the most part of his ships perished in Forth. The king returning with the Balioll into England, left David Cuming, Earle of Athole, governour in his place, who seized upon all the lands in Murray and Buchan, pertaining to Robert Stewart, and confiscated all the goods pertaining to the said Stewart's friends. Robert Stewart, with the helpe of Dungoll Cambell of Loch-howell, * took the castle of Dunnune, and killed all the Englishmen therein; and assisted with the commons of Bute and Aran, he killed Allan Lyle, sheriff of Bute: hee granted many priviledges to the inhabitants of Bute and Aran. There came to him at that time, Thomas Bruce, Earle of Carrick. The Earle of

* *Query.*—Dugald Campbell of Lochow?

Murray came foorth of France, and landed at Dumbreyton, and passing further with their support, reduced much of the countrie to the obeysance of King David, and chased the Earle of Athole, governour aforesaid, to the mountaines. About the same time was Sir William Dowglasse and Andrew Murray, being three yeares in captivitie, ransomed, and came home; at their comming to Edenburgh, where the nobles were assembled, they elected the Earle of Murray and Robert Stewart, governours. Many revolted to King David, as Alexander Ramsey, a skillfull warriour; Laurence Preston, John Herring, and John Haliburton, knight. The king of England invaded Scotland with a great army of 180 ships, losing many of them by storme. The king, with the Balioll, came with 50,000 men to Perth. The Earle of Athole revolted from King David. The Earle of Namure, (or, as some hold, Gilder,) came with an army to help King Edward. Hee was vanquisht by the governours upon the borough moor of Edenburgh, and convoyed by the Earle of Murray, governour, to the borders. The governour was taken by a privy ambush, laid purposely for him, and brought to king Edward. David Cuming, Earl of Athole, was chosen governour for the Balioll, who exercised great crueltie. Patricke Dumbar, Earle of March, Sir Andrew Murray, and Sir William Dowglasse, raised a power to represse the Earle of Athole, hee lying at the siege of Kildrummy, gave them a sore battell in the forest of Kilblayn, and had gotten the victorie, had not John Craig, captaine of Kildrummy, with 300 fresh men, come to their sup-

port, they being 1100, obtained the victory against the said earle, and killed him, hee being about 3000, and tooke many prisoners. After this battell, Sir Andrew Murray was again chosen governour in the Earle of Murray's place. The new governour besieged the castle of Cowper; but hearing that the Cumings and Englishmen were rysing in the north, hee came with a great army, obtaining victorie, reduced all the north to King David's obedience; and winning the castle of Dongard, expelled all Englishmen out of the north. Hee besieged the castle of Lochyndoris, wherein the countess of Athole was. King Edward came with 40,000 men and relieved her; and with bloody sword came through Murray-land, and burnt Aberdene; and coming to Perth, he caused the walles to be re-edyfied. King Edward returning againe into England, the governour came from the mountaines, and wonne the castle of Kinclewin, demolishing it. Hee raysed a great army, assisted by them of Murray-land, Marre, and Bucquhan, and fought a great battell against Englishmen and Cumings, at Panmoore, in Angus, obtaining a great victorie, with huge slaughter of noblemen, with many prisoners. Thereafter he past through Angus and Fife, overthrowing the castles there, with the castle of Lucres, (Cowper castle excepted). King Edward hearing thereof, sent two great armies into Scotland; the first being led by William Talboyes, a nobleman; he was encountered by William Keith and vanquisht, with his army and he taken prisoner. The other army was led by

Richard Mountford, with whom Laurence Preston and William Gordon met, and giving him battell, killed him, with most part of his army. About this time, Sir William Montagew, Earle of Salisbury, and the Earle of Arundell, came into Scotland with a great army, and besieged the castle of Dumbar twenty two weeks, wherein was black Agnes, the countesse, who defended the same valiantly. One time the engine called the Sow, brought against the castle, she said merrily, except Englishmen keep their sow better, shee would make her to cast her piges. The foresaid earles being forced, left the siege and departed. The castle of Cowper was left voyd by the souldiers, who hyring a ship to passe into England, perished all upon a sand bed. About this time William Dowglasse came secretely to Edenburgh, and killed 400 Englishmen, snorting asleep. Not long after, Andrew Murray, governour, deceased, to the great damage of the commonwealth, and was buried in Rosimarky, anno 1338. King Edward falling in warres with France, left the pursute of Scotland. William Dowglasse, having but forty men, fought at the Craigens with Sir John Striviling, being about 500 men. Thereafter he wan the castle of Hermitage, killing all that were within it. The next year he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall captaine under the Balioll; and being put to the worse at foure times, at the fifth time he vanquisht his enemies, and took the said captaine prisoner, and sent him to Dumbreyton. The said William Dowglasse being highly com-

mended for his worthie enterprises, was sent into France to King David, by Robert Stewart, then sole governour, who raysing a mighty army, besieged Perth ten weekes, losing more than they wan, the town being fiercely defended by Englishmen, and being almost out of hope to winne the towne, Sir William Dowglasse arrived in Tay. Not long after, the towne was rendred to the governour, and also the castle of Striviling. At this time Edward Balioll fled into England. The castle of Edenburgh was won by great policie by Sir William Dowglasse, William Bullocke, Walter Fraser, and John Sandilands, all valiant knights. The realme of Scotland being clearly recovered out of Englishmens hands, King David, with his queen, Jane, arrived safely, with many Scots and Frenchmen, at Innerberwy. At this time, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousy, one of the most valiant knights in his dayes, gathered a great power, and past into England, and in a great battell killed many Englishmen, and took the Earle of Salisbury and the captaine of Roxbrough prisoners; and assaulting Roxbrough, wanne it by great force, wherefore the king made him captaine thereof, together with the sheriffwicke of Teviotdale; whereat Sir William Dowglasse was displeased, and apprehending him in the church of Hawick, put him in prison in Hermitage, where he dyed in great miserie. The king being sore offended hereat, Sir William Dowglasse fled to the mountaines: at last he was by Robert Stewart reconciled with the king, and his lands restored. The Earle of

Salisbury was exchanged for the Earle of Murray. King David called a Parliament at Perth, wherein he liberally rewarded the sonnes and friends of them that were killed at the battell of Duppling, and many others that had done any vassalage against their enemies. The king made sundry roads in England. At this time Calice was besieged by King Edward; wherefore there came ambassadours from France, and from the king of England, with large proffers, which (unwisely) were refused: whereupon, King David raysed a great army, and past into Northumberland, against whom came the earle thereof, with a mightie army. The battell was cruelly foughten on all hands; at last Robert Stewart and the Earle of March sounded the retreat, in purpose to have taken advantage of a little mount. This was the occasion that Englishmen coming fiercely upon the mid battell, wherein the king valiantly fighting, and were loth to be taken, but rather would have foughten to death, seeing so many of his nobles killed: at length he was taken, with the Earle of Dowglasse, Fife, Southerland, Wigtoun, and Menteith, and many nobles killed, at this lamentable battle of Durham. The next year, the Balioll, with the Earle of Northumberland, came into Scotland with a great army, and used great cruelty. Robert Stewart was chosen governour; then a great pest came the second time into Scotland. Then after, there were men of warre sent by the French king, with 10,000 crownes; whereupon the Earle of March, Sir William Dowglasse, and Sir Alexander Ramsey

of Dalhousy, entering England with a great army, killing many, and taking many prisoners, besieging the towne of Berwick, won it, with the losse of Thomas Vaus, Andrew Scot of Balwery, John Gordon, William Synclare, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Mowbray, all valiant knights. On the English side were many killed, with Alexander Ogle, captaine, and the Earle of Northumberland's brother. The castle being defended, King Edward came to release it, and caused to repayre the walles, and used great crueltie against the people with burning, so that this time was called the burnt Candlemas. At this time was King John of France taken at Poyctiers, by Edward the black prince. At Christmas, the king of England sat betwixt two captive kings. After King David's eleven years captivitie, he being ransomed, returned to Scotland, and called a parliament, and because the sounding of the retreat by the Earle of March and Robert Stewart, at the battell of Durham, was occasion of the losse of the field; hee annulled the act made to the said Robert anent the crowne, and ordained the Earle of Southerland's son, John, gotten upon his youngest sister Jane, to be heir apparent to the crowne: whereupon the Earle of Southerland gave the most part of his lands to the Hayes, Sinclares, Ogylbies, and Gordons; he was disappointed, for his son John being pledge in England for the king's ransome, dyed in England. Robert Stewart was reconciled, and made againe heire apparent. The king called a counsell, and according to his promise, proponed to his nobles, if

they would be content, after his death, (without heires gotten of his body,) to have the king of England's sonne and his heires, to succeed to the crowne. The nobles all answered, so long as they were able to beare armour or weapon, they would never consent. Which answer pleased the king exceedingly; for there through he was discharged of his promise made to King Edward. He repaired many strengths, and caused to be builded David's tower in Edinburgh: hee repressed sundry rebellions. King David (not past nine years of age,) was convoyed over into France, with Queen Jane, (afterwards his wife,) where hee remained nine years, and was detained prisoner in England twelve yeares; after hee was at liberty, he married the aforesaid Jane, daughter to Edward the Second, king of England; after her death, he married Margaret Logy, daughter to Sir John Logy, knight. (The order of the garter first invented by Edward the Third, anno 1344.) He purposing to have past to Jerusalem, provided all things necessarie, but he being sicke of a hote fever, dyed in the castle of Edinburgh, without succession, the fortieth year of his reign, and was buried in Holyroodhouse. The nobles assembled at Linlithgow for the election of a king, and the most part agreed to Robert Stewart; but William, Earle of Dowglasse, came with a great power, and claimed the crowne by right of Edward Balioll and the Cumming. Robert Stewart being at last assisted by the Earles of March and Marre, and especially by the Lord Erskine, being of great puissance, captaine of the castles

of Edinburgh, Striviling, and Dumbarton, was elected king, the Earle of Dowglasse resigning his pretended right. The king, to have the surer friendship of his subject, the Earle, after married his eldest daughter Eufame, to James, the Earle of Dowglasse sonne.

100. Robertus Stewartus, the first king of the Stewarts, sonne to Walter the great Steward, and Margery Bruce, King Robert Bruce his daughter, succeeded his mother's brother in the year of the world 5341; in the year of Christ 1371; after the reign 1701. A good, valiant, and victorious king, who had married Eufame, daughter to Hugh, Earle of Rosse, who bare to him David, Earle of Straitherne, Walter, Earle of Athole, and Alexander, Earle of Bucquhan, Lord Badyenach, and sundrie daughters, one was married to John Dumbar, Earle of Murray, and another to John Lyon, Lord Glames, and after chancellor of Scotland, of whom descended the noble surname of Lyons, and after killed by the Earle of Crauford. Gunnes were first in use, which were invented by a Germaine, anno 1441. After her death, for the affection he bare to his children begotten before his marriage, he married Elizabeth Mure, daughter to Sir Adam Mure, knight, who had borne to him John, after called Robert the Third, Earle of Carricke, and Robert, Earle of Fife and Menteith, and Eufame, wife to James, Earle of Dowglasse. After he called a parliament at Perth, intayling the crowne to his sonnes, beginning at John, his eldest sonne, (after called Robert the Third,) whereunto the nobles were

sworne. Immediately after this time, there were sundry skirmishes done upon the borders by the Earles of March and Murray, and Sir John Gordon, who did take Sir John Lilborne and Thomas Musgrave, captaines of Berwick, prisoners; and upon the west marches, Sir John Johnstone fought sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and obtained the victorie. After this, William, Earle of Dowglasse, came with twenty thousand men to the fayre of Pennire, within England, and spoyled all the goods there, and brought with them the pestilence, whereof many dyed. In revenge whereof, the Englishmen came with a great army over Solway, and used great crueltie. In the mean time, the Scots gathered to the number of 500 men, and stood at a straight, and then with sudden noise and clamour, as the Englishmen past by, they set on them; and the Englishmen giving backe, were drowned in the water of Solway. About this time, Edward the Third, king of England, dyed. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, came into Scotland, and intreated to have a peace for three yeares: returning home, and advertised of the uprore of the commons in England, under Jacke Straw, hee returned againe into Scotland, and stayed there awhile. After the peace was finished, Archibald Dowglasse, Lord of Galloway, with the assistance of the Earle of Dowglasse and March, laid a strong siege to the castle of Lochmaben, and fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleil, and put them to flight, and wan the foresaid castle, and razed it down to the earth King Richard hearing thereof, sent

the Baron of Graystocke, with a certain number of men, to fortifie Roxborough: he being within a mile thereof, was taken by the Earle of March, and brought to Dumbar, with all his provision: the same year, after the recoverie of the strengths of Tividale out of Englishmens hands by the Earle of Dowglasse, he dyed at the castle of Dowglasse, and was buried at Melrosse. He was one of the most valiant men that was in his dayes. His sonne James succeeded in the earldome of Dowglasse; a right fierce and valiant knight, who by the king's appoyntment, passed with an army into England, and spoyled the countrie as farre as Newcastle, but being countermaunded home, hee came to Perth, where hee found the admirall of France, with 240 ships, with warriours well provided, who remained in Scotland; and accompanied with the Earle of Fife, generall of the army, with the Earles of Dowglasse and March, with Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, entered with a great army into England, and took the castle of Warke, Ford, and Cornewall, and did much hurt in the countrie; and laying siege to Roxborough and Carleil, the Frenchmen and Scots could not agree in whose names the strengths should be kept, if they were wonne. King Richard entred Scotland with a great army, and passed through the Mers and Louthian with great crueltie. After his returning into England, the Earles of Fife and Dowglasse, with Archbald Dowglasse Earle of Galloway, entred into England with a great army; and coming secretly through the water of Solway, came to Cocker-

mouth, and brought a rich booty together in three dayes, and returned safely into Scotland. William Dowglasse, sonne to Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, wanne great fame and honour at this time; wherefore King Robert advanced him highly, and gave him his daughter Gyles in marriage, a lady of excellent beautie. This foresaid William Dowglasse was a mightie personage, and very valiant, endued with many other good qualities; hee was of such strength, that whomsoever hee strook, either with mace, sword, or speare, down he went, were he never so well armed: at one time having 800 men, he fought against 3000 Englishmen, of whom 200 he slew, and brought 500 prisoners into Scotland, (as noted John Fordon). In the year 1388, Robert, Earle of Fife, and Archbald Dowglasse, past into England with a great army. At this time came the Irishmen into Galloway, and took a great booty; whereupon William Dowglasse, son to the Lord of Galloway aforesaid, followed into Ireland, (assisted by his brother the Earle of Fife,) and burnt the towne of Carlingford; and finding three score ships in sundry havens, loading fifteen of them with the spoyle of the towne, burnt the rest; and returning home, spoyled the Isle of Man. After this, the king of England sent an army into Scotland, who did much hurt in the Mers. King Robert, in revenge hereof, sent two great armies into England; the one army led by the Earle of Fife, entered Cumberland, and the other army, led by the Earles of Dowglasse and Marche, entered Northumberland,

and spoyled and wasted to Durham. The two armies met within two miles of Newcastle. The Earle of Dowglasse chose out 10,000 men to besiege Newcastle, wherein was the Earle of Northumberland, with his two sons, Henry Hotspure, and Ralfe, his brother. The said Henry required to fight with the Earle of Dowglasse, which request the Earle granting, together they ran, being mounted on two great coursers, with sharpe ground speares. The Earl of Dowglasse in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he drave Percy out of his saddle, but he was rescued and brought into the towne. Immediately the Dowglasse assaulted the towne, and put ladders thereto, but the Englishmen defending them well, the Scots were beaten back, and the Dowglasse retiring, encamped at Otterburne. Henry Percy aforesaid following them with all speed, there was a cruell battell foughten, while night severed them; when the moone began to appeare, they joyned again, with more malice than afore; the Englishmen fought so eagerly, putting the Scots abacke, that had not Patricke Hepborne, with his sonne and others, come to their helpe, they had beene put to the worse: also the Earle of Dowglasse had a great mace in his hand, that none came within his reach, but down he went. Finally, the Scots bare themselves so manfully, that the Englishmen were put to flight, and many taken prisoners, to the number of 1040, with the two Percyes, Henry and Ralfe, above 1800 killed. The Earle of Dowglasse was thrice strucken through the body, and also mortally wounded up-

on the head, that immediately he dyed, to the great discomfort of his whole army, conceiving more dolor for losse of so worthie a chieftaine, than joy for gaine of so great a victorie. Hee was buried at Melrosse beside his father; and because he had no heires of his body, Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, succeeded in the earledom. The next year a parliament was called at Perth, wherein the king's second sonne, Robert, Earle of Fife, was elected governour. The king by reason of his great age of 75 years, was not able to governe. He was a valiant, victorious, and fortunate prince in all his warres; for his governours and captaines returned always with victorie. He was very constant, and a great justiciar, and hearing diligently the complaints of the poore, caused all wrongs to be redrest: without accidentall sicknesse, he dyed of great age, in the castle of Dundonald, the nineteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Scone.

101. Robertus *tertius*, (surnamed John Fernyeare,) succeeded his father in the year of the world 5360; in the year of Christ 1390; after the reign 1720. He was a modest and peaceable prince; he married Annabill Drummond, daughter to the knight of Stobhall, who bare to him David the prince, and James, his second sonne. About this time, William Dowglasse of Niddisdale was chosen by the Lords of Spruce, admirall of a great navy of 240 ships, to pass against the Turkes. The Lord Clifford appealing the Dowglasse to singular combat; but afore the day appoynted, he lay in waite, and killed the said

Dowglasse, upon the bridge of Danskin, to the stay of that journey. At this time, the two clans of Clankayes and Clanquhattanes, in the North Inch of Perth, before the king and nobles, fought thirty for thirty, with sharpe swords without armour. All the Clankayes were killed except one, who swam over Tay, and so escaped: eleven of the Clanquhattanes escaped with life, but all sore wounded, in anno 1396. The third year after, the king held a parliament at Perth; he created his eldest sonne David, (of eighteen years,) Duke of Rothsay, and Robert Earle of Fife, (governour aforesaid,) Duke of Albany. These were the first Dukes in Scotland. At this time, (peace continuing betwixt England and Scotland,) David, Earle of Crauford, and the Lord Welles in England, were agreed to run certain courses on horseback with sharpe speares, for life and death, upon London bridge, upon St. George's day; and running together on their mighty horses right eagerly, yet they keept their saddles: the people perceiving Earle David to sit so stifly, cried the Scottishman was lockt in his saddle; he hearing this, leapt beside his horse, and right deliverly mounted up againe armed, to the great wonder of the beholders. The second time they ranne without any hurt; but the third time the Lord Welles was borne out of his saddle, with a sore fall and evill hurt. Because the Earle vanquished his adversarie upon St. George's day, he founded a chantorie of seven priests, in our Ladyes Church of Dundee. The Earle remained in England three monthes, feasting and sporting among the nobles,

being highly commended for his great liberalitie. Not long after, Sir Robert Morley, an Englishman, came into Scotland to try his manhood in singular battell; he vanquished Archbald Edmonston and Hugh Wallace, but being overcome by Hugh Trayle at Berwick, he died shortly of melancholy. King Robert, when he heard one of his sonnes was deceased in Falkland, by procurement of Robert, Duke of Albany, (who aspired to the crowne,) and James, his second son, taken prisoner in his voyage to France, and detayned by Englishmen: he dyed of displeasure within three days, the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Paslay, where his queene was before buried.

Robert, Duke of Albany, Earle of Fife and Menteith, governed Scotland in the year of the world 5376; in the year of Christ 1406; after the reign 1736. James the First being captive in England, a noble and valiant prince: he died the fourteenth year of his government. Printing was first invented by a German in the city of Mentz, *anno* 1442. In the year 1411, the universitie of St. Andrews was founded, and by King James the First augmented with learned men. (John Husse was burnt for the gospell). Duke Murdo, Earle of Fife and Menteith, was made governour four yeares. James the First returning home from captivitie, caused the said Murdo and his sonne to be executed for oppressing of his subjects.

102. Jacobus *primus* began his reign in the year of the world 5394; in the year of Christ

1424; after the reign 1754. A godly, wise, and victorious prince, and a severe justiciar: he married Jane, daughter to the Duke of Somerset, Marqueese Dorset, son to John of Gaunt, third son to Edward the Third, the victorious king of England, who did beare to him two sons (twines), Alexander, who died shortly, and James the Second, who succeeded his father, and sixe daughters, Margaret, wife to Lewes the Eleventh, dolphin, then after king of France; Elizabeth, Dutchess of Britaine; Jane, Countesse of Huntley; Elenor, Dutchess of Austria; Mary, wife to the Lord of Camphier, and Annabella. There came with him sundrie Englishmen, gentlemen, and Andrew Gray, who by the king's procurement married the heretrix of Fowles; and so the lordship of Fowles remaines to the surname of Grays, with many other lands. The king held his first parliament at Edinburgh. The second parliament was holden at Perth, wherein many noblemen were convict, and committed to prison, and sundry executed. The third parliament was holden at Striviling, where Duke Murdo and his two sonnes were beheaded, with Duncane Stewart, Earle of Lennox. Thereafter, Queen Jane was delivered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James; Alexander deceased, and James succeeded. The fourth parliament was holden at Perth, wherein Henry Wardlow, bishope of St. Andrews, made a pithy oration against surfeyting and superfluous banqueting cheer, wherein severe order was taken. The king raysed an army of two hundred thousand men, and besieged Rox-

borough fifteene days. About this time, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was burnt in St. Andrews for the gospell. The fifth parliament was holden at Perth, where the Earle of March was disinherited. The king was killed at Perth trayterously, by Walter, Earle of Athole, Robert Graham, and their complices, who were all apprehended and cruelly tormented to death, the thirteenth year of his reign, after his deliverance out of England, and the thirty first year after the death of his father. Hee was buried in the charter house of Perth, which he founded.

103. Jacobus *secundus*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5407; in the year of Christ 1437; after the reign 1767. (A prince subject to great troubles in his youth): he married Margaret, daughter to Arnold, Duke of Gilder, sister's daughter to Charles, surnamed Audax, the last Duke of Burgundy, who bare to him James the Third; and Alexander, Duke of Albany, who married the Earle of Orkney's daughter, and begat on her Alexander, bishop of Murray: hee parting with her, married in France the Countesse of Boloyne, and begat on her John Stewart, Duke of Albany, who was many yeares governour of Scotland. The third sonne, John, was Earle of Marre; he dyed in the Canongate without succession: the first daughter married one Thomas Boyd, Earle of Arran; after his decourting, she married the Lord of Hamilton, and by that way the house of Hamilton is decorated by the king's blood. This king was killed at the siege of Roxbrough, by the slyce of a great piece, being over-

charged, and hurt the Earle of Angusse, with sundry others; he was greatly lamented of his subjects, being not onely honoured as their king, but also greatly beloved as a father, the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Holyroodhouse. After his death, the queen, a woman of a stout stomacke, came with her sonne, seven yeares of age, to the siege of the aforesaid Roxbrough, and encouraged the nobles and captaines, that the castle was wonne and demolished, and also the castle of Warke.

104. Jacobus *tertius*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5430; in the year of Christ 1460; after the reign 1790. A good prince, (corrupted with wicked courtiers,) he married Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke (surnamed Diues,) and king of Norway, who in his favour renounced all title that hee had in any manner of way to Orkney, Shetland, and the Isles, for ever; shee bare him James the Fourth, Alexander, bishop of St. Andrews, and Duke of Albany, and John, Earle of Marre; they died both without succession. Hee made peace with King Henry of England, who, (like a liberall prince,) for the favour hee had received in Scotland, restored the towne of Berwick to the king. Thomas Cochrane and William Rogers (his perverse courtiers) were hanged at the bridge of Lawder. The king was killed at Bannockburne the twenty ninth year of his reign, and was buried at Cambuskenneth.

105. Jacobus *quartus*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5459; in the year of Christ

1489; after the reign 1819. A noble and courageous prince, both wise and godly: he made peace with England, and married Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry the Seventh, King of England, and Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the Fourth, in whose persons the cruell warres betweem the houses of Lancaster and York were pacified; the foresaid Margaret bare to him James the Fift. The king of Denmarke, by division of his lords, was constrained to seeke reliefe in Scotland, being honourably received by the king, who appoynted the Earle of Arran, with 10,000 warriours, to passe with the King of Denmarke, who restored him to his kingdome, and returned with great honour with his army. About this time, Sir Anthony Darcy, knight, Frenchman, named le Sire de la Bawty, came through England to Scotland, to seek feates of armes. The Lord Hamilton fought with him in armour, right valiantly, so that none of them lost any piece of honour. Pope Julius the Second sent an ambassadour to King James, declaring him protector and defender of the Faith; and in signe thereof, sent to him a diadem, or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, having the hilts and scabert of gold, set with precious stones. * About this time was Bernard Stewart, Lord D'Obigny, president of Tullous, lieutenant of the French men of warre that came into England with King Henry the Seventh, and assisted him valiantly in recovering of the crown.

* This is the crown and sword found in the castle of Edinburgh.

This foresaid Lord D'Obigny was valiant, and obtained great victories when he was the king's lieutenant in Naples. He dyed in Corstorphin, in Scotland, where he was borne. The king was killed at Flowden in battell, the twenty fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Holyroodhouse.

106. Jacobus *quintus* succeeded his father in the year of the world 5484; in the year of Christ 1514; after the reign 1844. A wise and valiant prince, and severe justiciar: he married Magdalen, daughter to the king of France, who dyed shortly after; then he married Mary of Lorraine, Dutchess of Longeville, daughter to Claud, Duke of Guise, who bare to him two sonnes and one daughter, Mary. Master Patricke Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, Doctor Luther's disciple, was burnt for the gospell. Thereafter the field of Solway-mose was holden, where Oliver Sinclare was lieutenant, and many noblemen taken. The king dyed of displeasure at Falkland, the twenty ninth year of his reign, and was buried at Holyroodhouse.

107. Maria succeeded her father in the year of the world 5513; in the year of Christ 1543; after the reign 1873. A princesse vertuously inclyned; shee married Francis, dolphin, after king of France; after whose death she returned into Scotland, and married Henry Stewart, Duke of Albany, &c., Lord Darnley, a comely prince, sonne to Matthew, Earle of Lennox, (pronepnoy to Henry the Seventh, king of England,) to whom she bare Charles, James the Sixt. Afterwards she coming into England, was received with great

humanitie, and after she was captive, at length put to death, the eight of February, 1586.

108. Now we come to the reign of a minor king, crowned in his cradle, borne in a turbulent and tempestuous time; yet he shall have the happiness to unite the long divided kingdomes of Briton, in such peace and quyetnesse, as it never injoyed from the first beginning. For although the uniter of the long divided roses lived in peace with the princes his neighbours, yet his entry was by blood, where at Boseworth, neare Leester, he overthrew Richard the Third, called Crookback, the usurper, who afterwards married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward the Fourth, made an end of these civill warres, and by his issue Margaret, his eldest daughter, married to James the Fourth, who had issue James the Fifth, who had issue Maria, who was heire to the kingdom, and being married to Francis the French king, hee dyed without issue; she took to husband Lord Darnley, sonne to Mathew, Earle of Lennox, and Lady Margaret Dowglasse, and of this Henry and Mary queen of Scotland, was begotten James the Sixt, who was borne in the castle of Edinburgh, the 15th of June, 1566, to the perpetuall happinesse and felicitie of this long divided island. His minoritie was governed by four regents, viz. Murray, Lennox, Marre, and Mortoun, nobles of high estimation in the commonwealth; ancient by birth, and in counsells wise and politicke. All which bare rule successively in their place, and were all (Marre excepted, who died in his bed), pitifully taken away by untimely ends: worthy

were they of farre better, but the times were so tempestuous, and feads and factions so great, that hardly could a well skilled pilote guide himselfe to his knowne port; neither was there wanting in the helme-men, or pilots at the stirrage, skill, courage, constancie, prudencie, providence, wisedome, and forecast, how to eshew rockes, sands, and clifts; but such were the gusts of adversitie, and flawnes of hard fortune, and the turbulencie and barbaritie of the untamed multitude, striving for prioritie and superioritie, that if the Almighty had not at hand planted and propagated this small branch, in time to spread the selfe over the whole island; and to give shelter to the weak under his boughes, from St. Burian to Duncansbay, and from the river of Dee to the river of Yarre. Yet shall he have the happinesse, in despite of all factions and treasans, led by the hand of the Almighty, happily to eshew all dangers whatsoever. And after his reign here, near thirty six yeares, we shall see him called to his inheritance of England, where his entry was with such joy, and his government with such happinesse and calmnesse, that it can be hardly paralelled with any going before, establishing peace, and settling quyetnesse in this long divided and torne countrie, so that there is a higher power that hath dominion over the kingdomes of men, and giveth kingdomes to whomsoever he will, and appointeth over them whomsoever he shall please. He was christened at Striviling the 18th of September 1566, by the name of Charles James: his godfathers were Charles the French king, and Philbert, Duke of

Savoy, by their ambassadours. The queen of England was godmother by her ambassadour, the Earle of Bedford, who presented a fount of gold weighing 333 unces. He was proclaimed by an herauld of armes, James, by the grace of God, Baron of Ardmanoch and Ranfrow, Lord of the Isles, Earle of Carricke, Duke of Rothsay, prince of Scotland. And because there is but an epitome intended of this king, of whom if all were written, would arise to a greater volume, leaving it to better and more able penmen. He was, the 30th of January 1567, crowned king of Scotland in Striviling, after a sermon preached by John Knox. The Earle of Murray was made regent, and the bishop of Aberdeene proceeded to the coronation. The earles of Mortoun and Hume gave oath for the king, that he should reign in faith and fear of God, in maintaining the true religion then preached in Scotland. He was anointed and had the royal robe put on him, the crown on his head, the scepter in his hand, and the sword by his syde, and to every one of these were particular prayers made in the Scottish tongue. James, Earle of Murray, was slaine at Linlithgow 1570, by Bothwel-haugh, with a pistol shot, who escaped and fled into France. After his death, there were excursions on the borders on both sides. Thereafter Lennox was killed at Striviling, with Spense of Wormistoun, who laboured to save him. Marre succeeded, who died in his bed, after he had borne office thirteene months: to the which place Mortoun succeeded, who was beheaded in Edinburgh in 1581. In

anno 1589, the king shipped at Leith, with my Lord Metellan of Thirelstane, then chancellor of Scotland: and passing the dangerous stormes of tempestuous seas, he went to Denmark and married his queen, Anna of Denmark, and happily came back to the same port with his royal queen, and landed at Leith with great joy of all his Majesties true and loyall subjects. The thirtieth day of August, Prince Henry was baptized at Striviling, the ambassadours of France and England assisted at the christning, together with the ambassadours from the low countries. Hee was christned Henry Fredericke, Fredericke Henry, Duke of Albany, and Prince of Scotland. Charles was born at Dumfermling the second of November, and christned the twenty seventh of December, Charles James, Duke of Rothsay, Earle of Ormond, &c. Anno 1601, the Earle of Marre went ambassadour to England to Queen Elizabeth, accompanied with Sir Edward Bruce, one of his Majesties Senators of the College of Justice, and sundrie other gentlemen. The twenty fourth day of March, being Thursday, 1603, Elizabeth, Queen of England, died at the manure of Richmond in Surrie, the forty fourth year of her reign, and in age seventy yeres. She being questioned a little before her death concerning her successour, she answered, her throne had been a throne of kings, and would that none that was base should succeed her. The secretarie asked her what she meaned by these words, she said, she would that none should succeed but her nearest kinsman the king of Scots; being called

away the day aforesaid. That same day the counsell conveened, and proclaimed King James at Whitehall gate, the counsell of England assisting. Sir Robert Cicile, principall secretarie, read the proclamation with a laudable voyce, James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, the true and undoubted heire, lawfully and lineally descended of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter to Edward the Fourth, in whose persons the whyte rose and the red were united. The said Margaret was married to King James the Fourth, and on her begot King James the Fifth. King James the Fifth begot on Mary of Lorraine, Mary Queen of Scotland, who being married to Henry Lord Darnely, sonne to Mathew, Earle of Lennox, and Lady Margaret Dowglasse, of whom was begotten King James the Sixth, &c. After he was proclaimed at Whitehall gate, they entred Ludgate to London, where Robert Lee, major, met him, and accompanied him to Cheapesyde crosse, where they proclaimed him as before. The counsell of England presently dispatched into Scotland Sir Charles Percie and Sir Thomas Somerset, to make known the queene's death, and to tender their love, dutie, and obedience to his majesty, as their liedge-lord. But Sir Robert Carie brought the first news, who came to Edinburgh the 28 of March, where the King lay for the time. These news were pleasant to the whole nobilitie and commons of Scotland, as also to the nobilitie and commons of England, to whom

the name of king was uncouth, because they were governed by queenes fifty years.

The king called a counsell presently for taking order of all things within the realme of Scotland. Hee began his reign over England the 24th of March 1603. And did so much, that the fifth of April hee set forward his journey towards England. The first night hee went to Dunglasse, an house belonging to my Lord Hume, where hee was royally entertained; the next day hee set forward to Barwicke, where it was incredible what number of people, as well the nobilitie as gentrie of Scotland, accompanied him to Barwick bounds: together with Baron de Toures the French ambassadour, being resident in Scotland for the time. And here the governour of Barwick, with the wardens of the borders, with the constable, and companies of men of war, and the captaines of the horse troopes, met his majestie to conduct him to the towne of Barwick.

This day was long looked for, and longed after, and truely it was the Lords owne doing, for what could not be effectuat neither by force nor policie, was peaceably done that day: the praise be given to the Almightie, who hathe the hearts of kings and kingdomes in his hand. The Romane, Saxon, Dane, and English, all wooed and sought it by what means they could bee lord superiour of this island, but the God of peace in his owne time would bring a king of peace peaceablie, and in that same place where they had wont to meet in most hostile manner, not without bludshed, in the same place they met

with such love and joyfull acclamations, mutuall embracings, with all shewes of love and demonstrations of friendship, intertaining his Majestie and his new come guests, with vollyes of small shot, and thundering of great ordnance. Heere at his Majestie's entrie at the gate of Barwick, William Selby, gentleman porter, presented his Majestie the keys of the towne with great humiliation, whom hee honoured with the honour of knighthood, delivering to him the keyes backe againe. Then his Majestie passed forward and was received by the captaines of the wardes, who with their armed bands convoyed him to the market crosse, where the major and his brethren received him, where Christopher Parker, sonne to the recorder, made a speech to him, delivering to his Majestie the charter of the towne, with a purse of gold, in token of their love; all which he graciously received, promising to maintain them and their privileges. After hee went to church, and gave thankes to the Almightie God, who had beene his protector, and made his entrie so peaceable and plausible. At which time there was a sermon preached by Tobie Mathew, bishop of Durham. From the church, his Majestie went to the pallace, where was heard againe a great peale of ordinance, with bone fires; expressing all signes of joy to welcome him; for never before this time was a monarch of Briton lodged within their walles. The next day, sundrie of the nobilitie came from the south to salute him; amongst whom was Henry Howard, brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Cobham, and

others being accompanied with these. Hee went to the walles, viewing the fortifications, and much commending their militarie order, and so returned to his palace. The next day, being the 8th of April, his Majestie removed from Barwick, rewarding everie officer and the souldiers according to their place. And so passing the river of Tweed, he entred Northumberland, where the shireffe of the shire, Sir Nicolas Forrester, received him, and convoyed him to Wethrington, at that time kept by Sir Robert Carie and his lady, where hee was royally intertained. The tenth day he set forward to Newcastle, where the major and his brethren met him, and with humble submission delivered him the sword and keys, in token of their love and obedience, together with a purse of gold. His Majestie returned them the sword and the keyes, ratifying to them their priviledges and customes; and staying there three dayes, he was entertained bountifully upon the towne's charge: in which time his Majestie relieved all prisoners, (treason and poperie excepted,) and giving largely to those that lay for debt. The 13th of April his Majestie set forward to Durham, where by the major of the towne hee was received with an oration, as in other places: this night he lodged in the bishop's house. The 14th of April his Majestie set forward to the house of Mistresse Genison, called Walworth, where hee was bountifully intertained. The 15th of April his Majestie advanced towards Yorkshyre, where hee was met with by the high shyreffe of the shyre, who attended on him to Master Inglbeis,

neere unto Topcliffe. The 16th of April his Majestie set forward toward Yorke, where the shyreffe of the city met him a great way off, at the limits of their libertie, who delivered to his Majestie their whyte staves in token of obedience: his Majestie redelivered them; and conveying him neere unto the citie, the sergeants of the citie met him and delivered their maces, which were delivered backe again; and at the gate the major and aldermen received him with a learned oration, delivering him the sword and keyes, together with a cup of gold, filled with gold: his Majestie delivered the keyes to the major, but about the sword there was some difference betwixt the major and the lord president of his Majestie's counsell of Yorke; but his Majestie took it from them both, and delivered it to George Earle of Cumberland, who carried it from the gate to the minster; from the minster his majestie went upon foote under a canopie, supported by four knights, to his owne house, where hee was bountifully feasted by my Lord Burleigh, during his abode there. The 17th of April he went on foote to the minster, where hee heard a sermon preached by the Deane of Yorke, Bishop of Limbrick; so after the sermon returned to the palace on foote. The 19th day of April his Majestie was feasted by the lord major, where hee was bountifully intertained: his Majestie knighted him by the name of Sir Robert Walter. After dinner, his Majestie commanded all prisoners to be set at libertie, (wilfull murtherers, traytors, and papists, being excepted). From Yorke hee removed to

Grimstone, the house of Sir Edward Stanhope, one of his Majestie's counsell at Yorke, where hee was bountifully intertained that night, and dyning the next day, being the 20th day, he advanced toward Doncaster, where by the way his Majestie tooke view of his house at Pomfret; his Majestie lodged at Doncaster at the signe of the beare. The 21st day of April his Majestie removed to Worsope, the Earle of Shrewsberry his house, where by the way the high shyreffe of the countrie of Nottingham conducted him to Worsope, where he was royally intertained on the Earle's charge. The 22d day of April his Majestie advanced towards New-warke upon Trent, lodging in the castle by the way; he was met with by the corporation of the towne, who presented him with foure white cups: and heere there was a cutpurse taken in the act, who having great store of gold about him, confessed hee had convoyed his Majestie from Barwicke; there was a warrand given to hang him, releasing all prisoners beside. The 22d his Majestie set forward to Belvoyre, the Earle of Rutland his house. The 23d he advanced to Burleigh, where hee was bountifully intertained, which day being Easter day, he heard a sermon preached by the Bishop of Lincolne. The 24th day his Majestie removed to Hinchinburgh, the house of Sir Oliver Crumwell, where by the way he dyned at the house of Sir Antonie Myldmay, who omitted no duty in expressing his love; the dinner being done, hee presented his Majestie with a fair Barbarie horse in rich furniture suitable. Then his Majestie rode towards Huntingtoun,

where the baillies of the towne met him, delivering him the sword with an oration: his Majestie delivered the sword to Southampton to be borne, who carried the same to the house of Sir Oliver Crumwell, where his entertainment was noble and bountifull; and here some of the universitie of Cambridge attended his Majestie, where one of them delivered him a learned oration in Latine, welcoming his Majestie, intreating the confirmation of their priviledges, which his Majestie most willingly granted. Heere Sir Oliver Crumwell presented him with a faire cup of gold, a goodly horse, deep mouthed hounds, swift haulkes of excellent wings, bestowing gold liberally amongst the king's officers. The 29th his Majestie set forward to Roystoun, where by the way the King's free tennents of good Manchister met him with 50 pleughes, holding their land so, that when the king shuld first enter their towne that way, to present his Majestie with so many pleughes, in token of their husbandrie and obedience to their king: his Majestie tooke it kindly, and was glad hee was the land lord of so many good tennents, desiring them to make good use of their pleughes and husbandrie; neere hand hee was met by the high shyreffe of Hartfordshire, Sir Edward Denny, accompanied with a gallant traine, who also presented his Majestie with a stately horse, with a rich saddle and furniture of great value, which his Majestie graciously accepted, commanding the shyreffe to mount the horse and ryde on him, which hee did, convoying him to Master Chester's house, where his Majestie lay that night on

his owne charge. The 30th his Majestie rode to Standon, the house of Sir Thomas Sadlers, where upon the way the bishop of London met him with a goodly companie of gentlemen in tawnie coats; and staying heere all Sunday, he heard a sermon made by the said bishop. The 2d of May he removed to the house of Sir Henry Cocks, late cofferer to Queene Elizabeth. Here also met him the lord keeper, the lord admirall, with most of the counsell of estate, with many of the nobilitie. Heere the lord keeper delivered a learned oration congratulatorie, the which his Majestie answered with great grace and wisedome: his intertainment heere was wonderfull bountifull. The 3d day of May he came to Theobalds, the house of Sir Robert Cicile, principall secretarie to the late queene, where he was bountifully intertained; and heere there met his Majestie, his guard, and many other of his officers, which his Majestie graciously received, and heere his Majestie made sundry of his nobles of Scotland of his counsell of England, the Duke of Lennox, the Earle of Marre, the Lord Hume, Sir George Hume, treasurer of Scotland, Sir James Elphingston, secretarie, and Sir Edward Bruce, afterwards master of the rolles of England. And one of the English nobilitie he made of his counsell, Henry Howard, brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas Lord Howard, sonne to the said Duke, whom hee also made chamberlane of his house, and after Earle of Suffolke; as also hee made the said Lord Howard of Marnehill, and afterward Earl of Northampton, as also Charles

Blunt, Lord Montjoy, who (for his valour) in expelling the Spanish forces out of Ireland, under the command of Don John of Aquila, and overthrowing the rebellious Irish under the command of Tyrone, neere to Kinsayle, hee made him Earle of Devonshyre. Heere his Majestie stayed at Theobaldes foure dayes, where he was most bountifully intertained, honouring this Sir Robert Cicile with the titles of Baron of Essenden, Viscount Cranburne, and Earle of Salisburie, and afterwards great thesaurer of England. The 7th of May his Majestie set from thence to London, where within three miles of London, John Swinertoun, shyreffe of London, as also shyreffe of Middlesex, where was delivered to him a learned oration by Master Martin, gentleman of Middle Temple; the shyreffe convoyed him to Sandford hill, being about three miles from London. Here the lord major of London, with the aldermen, met him in scarlet robes and gold chaines, with 500 of the citie clad in black velvet and gold chaines. The Duke of Lennox here carried the sword before his Majestie; and so taking the next way over the fields, he entred the charterhouse belonging to the Lord Thomas Howard, staying there foure nights. The 11th of May the king rode from the charter house to Whytehall, and from thence to the tower of London.

It is to be observed, that all the way the king rode from Edinburgh to London, he gave testimonies of love and mercie to all his loving subjects; mercie in relieving all prisoners whereso-ever he came, and honouring such a number with

knighthood, as in some places twentie, and in some thirtie, and in some fourtie, and at the charter-house eightie. As also restoring sundrie families to their lands, honours, and dignities. This the king's so joyful and peaceable entry was seconded from all the princes of Europe, to congratulate his peaceable entry to his lawfull inheritance, being now sole monarch of the whole island: from the French king Monsieure de Rosenay; from the king of Spaine John Baptista de Taxis, Conde de villa Mediana; from the Archduke Albertus, Count of Aramberg; as also from the Emperour, from the kings of Poland, Sweden, and Denmarke; from the Dukes of Savoy and Florence; from the duke and estate of Venice; from the estates of the low countries; from the Palse grave of the Rhyne; and from all the rest of the princes of Germanie: and because I intend but an epitome, and cannot relate every thing in the due place. Hee had ambassadours from the Persian, from the Great Turke, from the king of Fez and Moracco; yea, hee was visited by many princes in person, the prince of Vaudamont, the Dukes of Brunswick and Wittenberg, and many other, tedious to rehearse. The Duke of Holsten came to visite him; as also the king of Denmarke came twise in person, where he was royally intertained.

Scarse was the queene's death made knowne, when presently the borderers made incursions on both sides, the which was called the bussie week. The king, to take away all discontent from his subjects, sent down the Lord Hume, with the

title of lieutenant, to take away all disordered and insolent persons that had lived upon robberie. The Lord Hume in short time clensed the borders of many licentious persons. Afterward Sir George Hume being made Baron of Barwick and Earle of Dumbar, being also lieutenant of the middle shyres, made choyse of my Lord Cranston to bee captaine of the guard, who did so much by his care and vigilance, that a number of out lawes were brought to the place of execution, where after lawfull assise they had a reward of their forepast follies. Whose names and surnames for brevity wee omit, some of them who might have lived upon their rent, if so they could have beene content; but so prone were they to imbred vyce, received from their forefathers, and drunken in their adolescencie, they never leave off their first foot steps, while they runne headlong to their owne destruction.

TO THE AUTHOR.

The Romane Tullie, rose of all that race,
Of facund Mercurs; boldly unaffrayde
In Milos fence, to Clodius deface
This sacred sentence in the senate sayd:
Nought only for ourselves we're borne to toyle,
But for our friends, and for our native soyle.

Thou wisely weighed hes these words I finde,
Thou cairs to cleere thy countrey from obscure;
To please thy friends, thou fram'st thy wit and minde,
And by thy light thy countries light is pure.
She brought thee forth to light, thou takes like paine,
Who made thee see, to make her shine againe.

W. T.

A

TRUE DESCRIPTION AND DIVISION

OF THE

WHOLE REALME OF SCOTLAND,

OF THE SITUATION, DISTANCE, AND COMMODITIES IN EVERIE PART THEREOF, AND OF THE PRINCIPALL CITIES, TOWNES, ABBEYES, PALACES, FORTS, CASTLES, TOWERS, AND RIVERS.

SCOTLAND is divided from England by certaine marches, from the east sea, called the Scottish sea, to the west seas, called the Irish sea, from the mouth of Tweed, upon the same river, till it come betwixt Werke and Hadden, where the march leaves the river and passeth south west by dearn wayes, known only to the inhabitants of that country, till it come to Redden-burne, or water, and so up the said burne, while it come to the height of the Fells of Cheviot, and so west by the tops of the Fells, till a march ditch, called the march ditch, and so ending the meir ditch, till it fall in the river of Carshope, and downe Carshope, while it fall in Liddail, and downe Liddail, while Eske and Liddail meete, and taking affe at the north side of Eske, goeth enlong a ditch, while it come to the river of Sarke, and

so downe Sarke, while it fall in Sulway, where the waters of Annan and Nith, running severally in Sulway, all in one channell in the Irish sea, make plentie of fishes; also by flowing and ebbing of furious tides, made through many lands ends, and partly by inundation of the said waters, there are very dangerous quicke sandes, called Sulway sandes, that no man may safely passe over them without perill, (except they have one accustomed guyde,) because of sinking holes that are frequent in them, being every tyde overflowed with the sea. The travellers which travell that way, take their journey through them at a low or ebbe water. If any man or horse fall in, his fellow travellers casting their clokes, or other clothes, about that part where hee sinkes in, and so running often about, the sand swells up in a height, and so vomits out that which is fallen in the sinking hole. Upon the banks of Sulway, in June and July, the country people gather up the sand within the flood marke, bringing it to land, and laying it in great heapes; thereafter, they make the salt spring water, and cast it upon the sand, (with a certaine device,) causing the water to run through the sand into a hollow pit, purposely made to receive the water; which water being boyled in a little vessel of lead, there is made thereof good whyte salt, after the temperance of the weather. This place is called the Salt Coates.

The reason of the variation of the foresaid marches, was upon diverse debates and controversies arysing betwixt the borders of both the realmes, which being referred to the arbitriment

of sundry commissioners of both the nations, were set down according to the power of the partyes. Thus the marches are set foorth particularly, beginning at the Mers, wherein at the mouth of Tweede, stands the ancient and martiall towne of Barwicke, and a strong castle, well walled and strenthned, the chief towne of the Mers, the Scottish sea on the east. Next is the towne of Haymouth, the towne and abbey of Coldingham, the strong castle of Fastcastle, Ayton, Huttonhall, Blaketer, Elbaike, Gradoun, Spilaw, Lamden, Weddurben, Manderston, Brumhouse, Easter and Wester Nisbets, the townes of Duns and Langtoun, with their castles, the abbeys of Coldstreame and Ecclis, with the house thereof, Billie, Blenerne, Butterden, Comlage, Cockeburne, Rippet, Lochermagus, the castle of Craighome, the Earle of Home's special residence, Mallerstanes, Whitrig, the Greene Know, the two Pollarts, Grindlay, Wedderly, Spottiswoode, Thornedykes, Crosby, Huntley-wood, Bassenden, and Coldenknowes. The rivers in the Mers are, Ei, Whittiture, Blackitur, and Edmen water. This countrie is plenteous and aboundant in all things necessary for the use of man.

West from the Mers lyes Teviotdaill, Liddisdail, Ewisdail, Eskdal, Wauchopdail and Annandail, taking their names from Tiot, Liddil, Ews, Eske, Wauchope, and Annan, running severally through the sayd dailes. In Teviotdail lyes the ancient castle of Roxburgh, the Friers Bridgeend, the Loch-house, Coabat, Cesfard, the Lord Roxburgh's residence; Gradane, Gaitschaw, Mo-

we, Hadden, the Mosse Tower, Crailing, Crailinghall, Litle-dean, Mackerstoun, the towne and abbey of Kelso, Fluires, the towne and abbey of Jedburgh, Brown-jedwart, Ferne-herst, Ancrum, Langnewtowne, Newtone, Bed-reull, Minto, Hunthill, Hundely, Edzarstoun, the towne and abbey of Melrose, the towne and abbey of Driburgh, the towne of Hawicke, Laiwers, Ormistoun, Branxholme, the Balcleuchs residence; Haliden, Riddell, Faldounside, Greene-heade, with many other strong stone houses upon the water of Eall. The rivers in Teviotdail are, Tiot, Tweed, Kail, Aushnum, Jed, Rewll, Slitrig, Borthwicke, and Eall.

In Liddisdail is the ancient castle of Harmetage, Prickinhauch, Mangerstowne, and Whittow. In Eskdail is the castle of Langhome.

In Annandail is the castle of Lochmabane, inviroued with a number of loches, replenished with divers goodly fishes. The townes of Annandail are, the towne of Annanwick, an old castle, the towne of Lochmabane, the towne of Meffat, Bonschaw, New Bred-kirke, Hoddon, Howmanis, and Hoddamstans; next standeth the watch tower of repentance, Loch-house, Lochwod, Speldings, Ros, and Kirk-Michal. The rivers in Annandail are, Annan, Sark, Kirtil Milke, Ey, Kinnill, Ewan, and Moffat, a fertil countrie, and good for pastoring. West from Annandail lyes Niddisdaile, taking the name from the water of Nith, where stands the towne and castle of Dumfries, with a pleasant bridge of large fine stones; the towne and castle of Sanquhar, the Lord San-

quhar's speciall residence; the towne of Disdeare, the colledge of Lincluden, the abbey of Haliwood. In Niddisdaile are diverse ancient houses and castles demolished; and yet standing, the strong castle of Carlaverocke, Cumlungen, Muswell, Torthorraill, the Lord Torthorraile's residence; Hempsfield, Dalswinton, Closburne: the castles of Drumlainrig, Disdeir, Mortoun, Glen, Carne, Caschogill, and Dawyn. North from Niddisdaile lyeth Cliddisdaile, taking the name from the river Clyde, beginning at Crawfurd Moore, wherein lyes the ancient castle of Crawford; next lyes Crawford-John, Dowglasdaile, Ewendaile, Carnewath moore, Bedwell moore. The townes of Cliddisdaile are, Lanerk, Hammiltoun towne and pallace, the Marquesse of Hammilton's speciall residence, with the castle, Bouthwell, with the colledge, and Dazell; the city and castle of Glasgow, the archbishop's seat, very populous, with a sumptuous cathedrall church, containing a lower and over church, covered with lead, also a flourishing universitie in liberall sciences and theologie: adjacient to this citie is a large stone bridge over the river Clyde, wherein falles diverse other rivers, as Ewan, Mouse, Dowglas, Lismehago, with an abbey of the same name; the water of Ewan, the water of Cadder, the two Meddens, and Cutter water. In Clyddisdaile is the ancient castle of Dowglasse, the Earle of Angusse his special residence; Carmichael, Symington, Covington, Corrous, the castle of Crawford-John, Lamingtoun, Coutheley, the strong castle of Draffan. This countrie is very plentifull of all necessaries. In

the over ward of Cliddisdaile, there is a hill or mount, whereout spring three rivers, Tweed, running in the Scottish sea, Annan, in the Irish sea, and Clyde in the great ocean. South east from Cliddisdaile, lyeth Tweddaile, named so from Tweede; the speciall towne is Peblis, with a religious house, called the Crosse Church; the towne of Bigger, with the castle; the towne of Lintoune, the castle of Drochels, with the strong castle of Neidpeth, the Lord Zester's residence; Traquaire, Grisum, Ormstoun, Cardrono, Horseburgh, Henderstoun, Dawicke, Drumelzer, Skirling, Possow, Smithfield, Cringilty, Dearnehall, Furde, Halkschaw, Glenkirke, Langland hill, Hartrie, Romanno, Coltcoat. The waters in Tweddaile are, Tweede, Quaire, Maner, Bigger, Tarfe, Lyne, Peblis water, and Lithnops. This countrey is good for pastorage. East from Tweddaile lyeth Heriot moore, the Stow, Galla water, and Lauderdaile, with the towne and castle of Lawder; taking the name from the water of Lidder, with Kairefrae, their being pendicles of other shires, wherein are sundry strong stone houses, for brevity I omit to descrive. South from Tweddaile lieth Forrest shyre, the speciall towne is Selkirke, Hayning, Philip-hauch, Sunderland-hauch, the Zair, Elibanke, Hanginschaw, Teinis, Arkewood, Kirkehope, Tuschelaw, Thielstane, the two Suinlous, Eikschaw, Huntly, Witschland, Galaschiels, Whithanke, Blindly, the old castle of Newark. There are two goodly rivers, Zara and Ethrick, both falling in Tweed; Zara runneth out of a great loch, called the Loch of the Lows, wherein

is aboundance of fishes. This countrie is also good for pastorage.

Louthian taking the name from Loth, king of Picts, is divided from the Mers by one part called the Eyster peece, and by Lammer-mure on the south, from Tweddale on the south west. In East Lowthian is the castle of Dunglasse, Innerwick, Broxmouth, Spot, Beltane, Beill, Smetoun, the old castle, Benistoun, Morum, Stanipeth, Whittingham, Linplum, Whitlaw, Nunraw, and old castle of Zeister, Bothens, the Lord Zester's residence; Harmestoun, Blanch, Samelstoun, Saltoun, Penkathlane, Keith, Humby, Wintoun, Ormestoun, the two Cranstouns, Falahall, the castles of Creichtoun and Borthuick; the Lord Borthuick's residence. The townes in Louthian are Dumbar, with an old castle, the towne of Tuningham, with the house thereof; Skwgall, Adam, Gleghorne, Whitkirk, Furde, the Lord Haliroodhouse residence; the strong castle of Tamtalon, the craig of Bagone, Wauchtowne, North Berwick, with an abbey, Dirltoun, with the castle, the tower of Fentoun, Congiltoun, Salt Coats, Luthnes, the towne of Abirlady, with the house adjoyning, Gosfurde, Readhouse, Byrs, Grantoun, Gilmertoun, Bancreiff, Seitoun, with the pallace, the Earle of Wintoun's residence; Hadingtoun, with an abbey, Lethingtoun, the Lord Thirlstane's residence; Clerkington, Colston, Elwingston, Elphingstoun, Falside, Carbary, Smetoun, Monton, Meling, Arnestoun, Tempill, Gilmertoun, Montlothian, Morfat, Newhall, the castle of Rosling, Dredden, Sowtran Abbey, the

towne of Preston, with the tower, the towne of Prestoun-pannes, Prestoun-grange, the townes of Tranent, Mussilburgh, and Inneresk, the house of Pinky and Walafield, the town of Dalkeith, with the castle, the Earle of Morton's residence; the towne of Newbottell, with the abbey, well builded, the Earle of Louthian's residence; the castle of Dalhoussy, the towne of Leith, a commodious haven for ships, and the sea-port of Edinburgh, right well shipped.

Edinburgh, the speciall and head burgh in Scotland, chiefe justice seat of the realme, strongly builded with stone. The most part of the houses are five, sixe, or seven stories high, wherein is a goodly universitie, flourishing in all sciences for instruction of the youth, fortified on the west with a most strong castle, builded upon a high rocke, kept by the king's captaines, which castle commands the said burgh, called of old the Maiden Castle, founded by Cruthneus Camelon, the first king of Picts, before the birth of our Saviour 330 yeres, circuit upon the east, south, and west, with a stone wall, and upon the north strengthned with a loch. It is also decored with the king's pallace and abbey of Holyroodhouse, upon the east part; within seven miles to the burgh, upon the east, south, and west parts, and within two miles upon the north part, there is of noble and gentlemens palaces, castles, and strong builded towers and stone houses, (not as yet nominated,) above an hundred. Also the town of Cramond, lying upon Almond. The rivers in Lothine are, Tyne, Aske, the water of Leith, the water of Al-

mond. Lothian is very plenteous and right aboundant in all things necessarie for the use and sustentation of man.

Next East Lothian, lyes in West Lothian the shirrefdome of Linlithgow, with the castles of Barnbugall, Cragyhall, Dundas, towne of Queenes Ferrie, Didestown, Newlistoun, Kirklistoun, the castle of Neddry, Haltoun, Damahoy, Curryhill, Lennox, Ricarton, the castle and pallace of Cadder, Torphican, Kinneil, Burrestonnesse, the strong forts and castle of Blacknes, the old castle of Abircorne, the towne of Linlithgow, and the king's pallace, most sumptuously builded, with a pleasant and commodious parke, and loch under the pallace wall: Bullinhard, Neutoun, Duntarwy, Bathcart, Graing, Pardoven, Inchmachan, Medop, Aven water, whereon there is a stone bridge, devides Sterling shyre from West Lothian at the south, the Firth of Forth at the north, which firth peece and peece becomes narrow, till it grow to the quantitie of a reasonable river, neere unto Striviling bridge. There is but one water worthie to make account of that runnes through it, named Carron. There are two little earthen knols builded, as may appeare, by men, (being ancient monuments,) called *Duini pacis*, that is, the knols of peace. Two miles downward, upon the same water, there is a round building without lime, made of hard stone, in such sort, that one part of the uppermost stones are indented with the stone that lyes directly under it, so that the whole work, by this conjunction mutuall, and burthen of the stones, upholds it selfe, grow-

ing narrow by little and little from the ground to the head, where it is open like a dove-coat. The common people call it Arthur's oven. Upon Carron was situate the famous citie of Camelon, chiefe city of the Picts, founded by Cruthneus Camelon, afore the birth of Christ 330 yeres, destroyed by King Kenneth the Great, about the yeare of Christ 846. In this countrie is the abbey of Manwell, the castles of Haning, Powmile, and Cummernald, the Earle of Wigtown's residence; with the wood, the Torewood, and Torewood side, the towne of Falkirk, the castles of Kers and Calender, the Earle of Linlithgow's residence; the castles of Donipace, Harbertshyre, West Quarter, Arth, Poffowls, Carnoke, Bruse castle, the palace of Elphingstowne, the Lord Elphingstone's residence; Easter and Wester Polmais, Polton, Carse, Throsk, and Chartrishall; the ancient towne, with the most strong fortresse and castle, and sumptuous palace of Striviling, builded upon a high rock, with a pleasant and commodious park under the castle wall. In this shyre are the castles and towers of Towch, Gargunnok, Broich, Lekke, Dundaffe, Kilsyth, Manners, and Powes. Beyond the bridge of Striviling, lyes the abbey of Cambuskinneth, with the castle, the towne and castle of Alloway, the towne and castle of Clackmannan, the castles of Tulliallan and Sawchy, Blair, Valeyfield, Kynneder, Aikinhead, Menstre, the towne and abbey of Culrosse, with the new builded palace. Next adjacent to Striviling shire, lies Lennox, devided from the barony of Renfrew by Clyde, from Glasgow by the

water of Kelvin, at the foote of the hilles of Grangebean, Loch-Lowmond, runnes downe a low valley, foure and twenty miles of length, and eight of bredth, having more than twenty foure islands within the same.

This loch, besides abundance of other fishes, hath a kind of fish of its owne, named Powan, very pleasant to eate. The water of Levin runneth out of Loch-Lowmond southward, running so strong, that no man (without danger) may passe the same. Levin entreth into Clyde neere to the most strong and invincible fortresse and castle of Dumbarton, standing upon verie high rocks, with abundance of fresh water springs; one spring being in summer wholsome cold, and in winter sweete warme, no rocke nor hill being within more than a mile to the foresaid strength and castle. Next adjacent is the towne of Dumbarton, pleasantly situat upon the river of Levin, the speciall towne in the duchy of Lennox, within the which there are many strong castles, towers, and stone houses, as the castles and towers of Kirkmichael, Rosdo, Tarbat, Arnecaple, Kilmahow, Ardeth, Kilmaranoch, Buquannane, Drummakeil, Craigivarne, Ballindalloch, Kilcrock, Balglas, Fentrie, Duntreith, Craigbarnut, Gloret, Woodhed, Cochnoch, Balquhannaran, Drumry, Dunglasse, with sundrie others tedious to declare.

The Duke of Lennox is superiour to the most part of the gentlemen inhabitants in this countrie, and many in the barony. Next lyes the barony of Renfrew, taking the name from the towne of Renfrew, wherein the session of justice is kept to

the country. It is devided in the midst by two waters, Carth and Gryff. The towne of Paislay is pleasantly situat upon the river Carth, with the abbey thereof, the Earle of Abircorne's speciall residence, with most pleasant orchards and gardens. In this countrie lyes the castle of Sempill, the Lord Sempill's speciall residence; the castles and towers of Crukstone, Marns, Cathcart, Hag, Upper Polloke and Nether Polloke, Hakket, the Lord Ros residence; Cardonald, the Lord of Blantyre's residence; Blackhall, Caldwell, Stanelie, Ellersly, Johnstowne, Waterstowne, Ramfurley, Dochail, Raalstowne, Biltries, Craigans, Houstoun, Barrochane, Dargewell, Blackstoun, Selwiland, Walkinshaw, Inchchennan, Arskin, Bishoptoun, Boghall, Fynlastoun, New-werke, Grinoke, Ardgowan, Glengarnoch, and Lady-land, with many other strong stone houses, tedious to rehearse. These countries aforesaid are plenteous in cornes, beastial, and fishings. Next lyes Cuningham, divided from Kyle by the water of Urwine; at the foote thereof is situate the towne of Urwine, a goodly marchant towne, with a strong stone bridge, the towne of Kilmarnocke, the towne and castle of Kilmars, the Earle of Glencarne's residence; the towne and castle of Newmils, the towne of Salt Coats, where great store of white salt is made, the towne of Largs, the towne and abbey of Kilwinning, the castle of Deane, the Lord Boyde's residence; the castle and palace of Lowdon, the Lord Lowdon's speciall residence; the castle of Eglingtowne, Kirelaw, Ardrossin, the Earle of Eglington's residence; Cunningham-

head, Blair, Robertland, Gyffine, Eastwood, Calwell, Rowallen, Low, Fairly, Kelburne, Arneil, Knock, Skelmurly. In the towne of Urwine the judge ordinarily holds justice. Kyle and Cuninghame were called of old Siluria. Their countries are fertill in cornes and bestiall. Next lyes Kyle, divided from Carrick by the water of Downe, which descends out of Loch-downe, wherein there is a strong tower builded upon an isle. This water runnes west in the Firth of Clyde. In the midst of Kyle runnes the water of Air, which devides Kyle in King's Kyle, and Kyle Stewart, a part of the prince's principality. At the mouth of the water, on the south side, is situate the ancient marchant towne of Aire, taking the name from the water, the principall burgh of the whole shyre, pleasantly builded in a plaine field, hard on the sea, very populous, and well shipped, with faire stone houses, most covered with blew sklate, with a large stone bridg passing to the new towne of Air, with a castle and palace. The towne and castle of Machling, the towne and castle of Cumnok, the towne of Presik, the justice seat of Kyle Stewart, the townes of Gastown and Ricardtown, the castles of Dundonald, Sundrum, the Lord of Cathcart's residence; the castles of Ochiltrie, with the towne, the Lord Ochiltre's residence; the castles of Caprintoun, Gaitgirth, Cragie, Entirkin, Gastoun, Sesnocke, Carnal, Bar, Lochnories, Terringean, Cars, Drongane, Sorne, Dregorne, Sornbeg, Monton, Affleck, and Barskymmin, the loch of Martuane, with a strong tower, Loch-Fergus, with an isle, with many growing trees,

where great plentie of herons resort, with the Loch Feal; there is a decayed monasterie in it. The rivers in Kyle are, Air, Luggar, Feal, and Sesnocke; Luggar and Feal runnes in the water of Air, and so in the Firth of Clyde. The water of Sesnocke runnes in the water of Urwine, and so in Clyde. This countrie abounds in strong and valiant men, where was borne the most renowned and valiant champion William Wallace, in the barony called Ricardtoun, then his father's style, thereafter of Craigy and Ricardtown. Five miles from Air is a place called Coel's field, where the king of Britons, called Coel, was killed by the Scots and Picts, upon the water of Downe. This countrie is plenteous of beastiall, with abundance of cornes. Next Kyle lyes Carricke, bordering with Galloway, under the Lochrean, of old called Loch-Calpin, declyning while it come to Clydisfirth: in Carricke are two goodly waters, plenteous of fishes, the water of Stinchar; at the foote thereof stands the towne of Ballintrea, where is great plentie of herrings and other fishes; the castles of Arstinchar, Craigneil, builded upon a strong rocke, with the castle of Knockdolean. Upon the water of Girwan are the castles of Bargeny, Blairquhan, Dalwharran, Cassils, Dunure the Earle of Cassil's residence; the castles of the Koe, Ardmillane, Carletowne, Killoquhan, Baltessane, Keirs, Auchendrane, the abbey of Corsraguel. There was a goodly marchant towne, of old called Carricke, founded by Carratake, king of Scots, whereof remaines nothing; the principall towne is now Mayboll, where the judge or-

dinarily holds justice. Next adjacent with Carricke lyes Galloway, of old called Brigantia, bordering with Niddisdaile, almost declyning to the south, the shyre whereof inclosed; all the rest of that side of Scotland is more plentifull store of bestiall than cornes. The waters of Galloway are, Ure, Dee, Terfe, Fleit, Kenne, Cree, and Losse, which runne all in the Ireland sea. There is almost no great hills in Galloway, but it is full of craggie knols; the waters gathering together in the valleyes betwixt those knols, make almost innumerable loches, from whence the first floud that comes before the autumnall equinoctiall, causeth such abundance of waters to run, that there come foorth of the said loches incredible number of eeles, and are taken by the countriemen in wand creeles, who salting them, obtaine no small gain thereby. The farthest part of that side is the Head, called Novantum, under the which there is a haven at the mouth of the water of Lossie, named Rerigonius. In the other side of Galloway, over against this haven from Cliddisforth, there enters another haven, named commonly Lochryen, Vidogora; all that lyeth betwixt those two havens, the country people call the Ryndes, that is, the point of Galloway; also Novantum, the Mule, that is, the Beeke. In Galloway are the townes of Kirkcudbright, well situate for a marchant towne, a good harbery, with a castle. Whithorne is the bishop's seat there. Wigtoun, a goodly market towne, the towne of Innermessane, Minigooff, and St. John's Clachane. The abbey of New Abbey, Glenluse,

Salkyde, Dundrenan, and Tongland; the castles of the Treave, Barcloy, Hills, Orchardtoun, Bomby in Loch-Fergus, Campstoun, Cardenes, Wreythis, Kenmure, Kirkgunze. The great strength and castle of Crowgiltoun, builded on a rock hard on the sea; the castles of Garlies, Large, the great castle of Clare, the castles of Dunskay, Corsell, Lochnee. The loches of Galloway are, Rubinfranco, Carlingworke, Myretown, which never freeses, for any frost that chances.

The westmost of the hills of Graingebean, make the borders of Lennox; the hills are cutted by a little bosome of the sea, named for the shortnesse thereof, Gerloch; at the entry thereof standeth the castle of Roseneth; beyond this loch there is a greater loch, named from the water that runneth in it, Loch-Lowng; this water is the march betweene Lennox and Cowall: this Cowall, Argyle, and Knapdail, altogether called Argyle, are divided in many parts by many narrow creekes that run out of the Firth of Clyde into them. In Cowall is the castle and towne of Dunnone, where is the Bishop of Argyle his seat: there is one most notable loch, called Lochfyne, which is in length three score miles; upon Lochfyne is situate the castle, palace, and towne of Inararay, the principall residence of the Earle of Argyle; also doth the shyreffe of Argyle keepe his courts of justice. This loch is most plentifull of herrings and all other fishes. On this loch are situate diverse castles and gentlemen's places, as Castle Laughlan, the Oiter, and Dunetrewne. In Knapdall is Loch-how, and therein a little isle,

where there is a strong castle of the same name; there is also the castle of Tarbat. In Argyle is the strong castle of Carricke, builded upon a rocke within Lochgoyle; there is also the college of Kilmun. The water of Awe runneth out of Loch-how, and is the onely water of all that countrie that doe runne in the Deucalidon sea. South and by west from Knapdall, lyeth Kintire. The head land of the countrie right over against Ireland, devided by the sea of the breadth of 16 miles only. In Kyntire are the castles of Dunaverty and Sadell, the towne and castle of Kilkerraine, situat on the loch of the same name: Kintyre is more long than broad, joyning to Knapdall by so narrow a throat, about one mile of bredth, which ground is sandy, and lyeth so plain and low, that marriners drawing along their vessels, as gallies and boats, through it, make their journey a great deale shorter than to passe about Kintyre, which is the common passage. Lorne lyes next, and contaygue with Argyle, on the back thereof, where standeth the most ancient castle of Dunstaffage, in which were the kings of Scotland in old times crowned, where also the fatall marble chayre remained more than one thousand yeares. In Lorne are also the castles of Cornacery and that of Makdules, built upon a right rockie mountain. The countrie of Argyle, Knapdall, and Cowell, doe abound of beastiall, kye, sheepe, and great store of venison, and abundant in fishes. Lorne marcheth still with Argyle, untill it come to Haber, or rather Loch-haber; a plain countrie, not unfruitfull. The countrie where the hills

of Grangebean bee, are most easie to be travelled, named Broad-Albin, that is to say, the highest part of Scotland; and the highest part of Broad-Albion is called Drumalbin, that is, the backe of Scotland, so termed, for forth of the backe, waters doe run in both the seas, some to the north, and some south: Haber, or rather Lochaber, marcheth with Badzenoch, which hath as it were a backe running out through the midst of it, which spouts forth water in both the seas. Lochaber marching with Badzenoch, tendeth by little and little towards the Deucalidon sea: a countrie aboundant in cornes, and great plenty of fishes, for beside the abundance of fresh water fishes, produced by a great number of waters, the sea runnes within the countrie in a long channel, and being narrow at the mouth, the water kept in betwixt two high banks, and spreading wide inward, makes the form of a stank, or rather of a loch, a place where ships may lye sure as in a haven. Adjacent with Clackmananshyre, lyes Fiffe, beginning at the towne of Torre-burne, with the castles of Torre, Crumby, Pitfirran, Pittincreiff, the towne of Dunfermling, and abbey thereof, founded by King David the first. The kings of Scotland were buried there a long time: the palace thereof now repayred by the king's majesties command and charges, where the Earle of Dunfermling, chancellor of Scotland, had his residence. The towne of Lymkellis, with the castle of Rossyth, the towne of the Queensferry upon the north. In the middle of Forth, upon a rock, is the fortresse and decayed castle of Inch-

garvy. By east lies, in the same water, St. Colm's Inch, with a demolished abbey, abundant with conies, and good pasturing for sheep. Next in the mid Firth, lyes Inchkeith, with a demolished fortressie, fertile of conies, and gud for pasturing of sheep. East from Inchkeith, within Forth, lyes a verie high and big rock, invironed with the sea, called the Basse, invincible, having upon the top a fresh spring, where the Solaine geese repayre much, and are very profitable to the owner of the said strength. Next the Basse, in mouth of Forth, lyes the Isle of May, a mile long, and three quarters of a mile in bredth. There was a religious house, with many fresh water springs, with a fresh loch, abundant with eeles. This Isle is a goodly refuge for saylers in time of tempest. By east the Isle of May, twelve miles from all land, in the Germayne seas, lyes a great hidden rocke, called Inchcape, very dangerous for navigators, because it is overflowed everie tide. It is reported, in old times, upon the said rocke there was a bell fixed upon a tree or timber, which rang continually, being moved by the sea, giving notice to the saylers of the danger. This bell or clocke was put there, and maintained by the abbot of Aberbrothok, and being taken down by a sea pirate, a yeare thereafter he perished upon the same rocke with ship and goods, in the righteous judgement of God. Returning to the auncient towne of Innerkething, adjoyning thereto, is the most comfortable and safe refuge for saylers in time of storme, called St. Margaret's hope, Dunnybersill, Dalgatie, and Fordell, the

towne and castle of Aberdour, the loch of Cowstoun, Otterstoun, the towne of Brunt-island, with the castle; the castles of Balnuto, Balwery, Hall-sairdes, and Raith; the towne and castle of Kingorne, the castles of Seyfield and Abbotshall, the towne of Kirkcaldie, the castles of Bogy and Ravens-heuch, the Lord Sinclaris speciall residence; the towne of Dysart, the towne of Westerwems, and the castle, the castle of Easterwems, the Lord Colweill his chief residence; the townes of Buckhaven and Levyns mouth, so named from the river of Levin, which comes out of Loch-Levin, the towne of Kenneway, the castles of Dury, Lundy, and Largow, with the towne thereof; the castles of Rires, Bulchares, and Kinnochar, with the loch thereof, the town of Earles Ferry, the castles of Kelly and Ardrosse, the towne of Eli, with a commodious harbery, the towne and castle of St. Monanes, Carnbie, and Balkaskie, the towne and abbey of Pittenweme, the Lord of Pittinweme's residence: the townes of Anstruther, with the castle, the towne of Abercromby, taking the name from the ancient name of Abercromby, in King Malcolme Canmore's dayes; Busy, Pitterthy, the townes of Innergelly and Silver-dikes, the castles of Erdry, third part, West-Berns, the towne of Craile, with the provestry, Baleomy, Wormstoun, Randerstoun, Newhall, Camno, Kippo, Pitmille, Kinkell, Strawithy, Lambecletham, Lathochar; the citie of Sanct Andros, the metropolitan and archbishop's seat, with a strong castle and abbey, decored with three universities. In old time the churches in this city

were costly builded. From this city west, upon the water of Eddin, lye the castles of Nidy, Rumgary, Daissey, Blebo; the towne of Cowper, the chiefe justice seat; Corstoun, the castle of Struther, the Lord Lindsay's principal residence; Scots-Tarwet, Craighall, Careston, Kirkforthar, and Ramsayes Forthar, Ramorvy, Bruntoun, Congland, Bandone, Balgony, the towne of Merkinsche, the towne of Falkland, with the king's palace, with a pleasant parke, aboundant with deeres and other wild beasts, with a pleasant new palace, builded by the Lord of Scone; the towne of Stramiglo, with the castle, the Loch of Rossy, with the tower, Monymeal, Hall-hill, the towne of Ochtermuchty, Hil-Corney, and Nachtoun, the two Loumonds, the towne of Lesly, with the castle, Arnat, and Strath-endrie, the loch of Inchgaw, with the castle, the castle of Dow-hill, Killerny, Ady, Cleisch, the loch of Loch-Levin, with a strong castle, abundant in all fresh fishes, with the new house adjacent thereto; the castle of Burley, the Lord Burleye's residence; the castle of Ballnaird, the towne of Newbrough, the abbey of Lundors, the Lord of Lundor's residence; the castle of Bambreich, the Earle of Rothous speciall residence; the abbey of Balmerinoch, Collarny, Ferne, the two Ramkelours, Perbroth, Mordocarny, Macquhany, Forret, Kynneir, the towne of Lucers, with Earles Hall and their castles, of old pertaining to the Lord Monnypenny; at which time a valiant man, named Sir David Bruce, atchieved in France great honours and lands, called Ascariot, the which he exchanged

with the said lands of Earles Hall, Lucers, and other lands of the said Lord Monnypennie's in Scotland, which Lord Monnypenny then having no sonnes but daughters, his name utterly perished in France. Colluthy, the townes of East and West Ferries. The rivers in Fife are, Levin, Eddin, Ore, Lochty, the two Quiches, waters of Largo, Kendlie, and Stramiglo.

This countrie abounds in cornes, fruits, bestiall, and all sorts of fishes, coales, and salt; all the aforesaid sea townes very populous and well shipped. Staitherne taking its name from Erne, which runneth out of Locherne. The principall countrie of Perthshyre is divided on the south from part of Fife, Kinroshyre, and Clakmananshyre, by the Ochal hilles, the tops of the hills serving for march, for as the water springs do fall towards the north, they belong to Straitherne, and as they fall towards the south, they appertaine to Kinroshyre, Culroshyre, and Clakmananshyre, by ambition divided; in old times all these three shyres were under the jurisdiction of Perth. The stewartrie of Menteith lyeth in Perthshyre, wherein lyes the Abbey of Inchmahomo, with the castles and towers of Cardrose, Archopple, Balinton, Quolze, Burnbanke, Row, Keir, Knockhill, Calendar, Leny, Cambusmoore, Torre, and Lainricke, lying upon Teith water, giving the name of Menteith. The strong fort and castle of Downe, Newtown, Argatie, and Kirkbryd, the Earle of Menteith's residence. Next lyes in Perthshyre the city of Dumblane, the bishop of Dumblane's residence; Kippinrose,

Cromlix, Buttergrasse, and Castle Campbell. Returning to the town of Abirnethy, some time the metropolitane city of the Picts, lying in Straithern, it marcheth with Fiffe, where the Earles of Angus have their sepulchres. By Mugdrum and Balgony, runneth the river of Erne in Tay, which is the greatest river in Scotland. At the foote of the Ochells lyes the castles and towers of Craigpoty and Knightpoty, Fordel, Ardrose, Balmanno, Exmagirdle, and Forgon, where the water of Meth flowed from the Ochells, giving name to the castle of Innermeth, the Lord of Innermeth's residence; the castles and towers of Condy, Keltie, Garvoke, Duncrub, Newtowne, Glainaigles, the towne of Doning and Auchtirardour, the castle of Kincardin, the Earle of Montrose his speciall residence; the castles of Nether Gaske and Tullibardin, the Earle of Tullibardin his speciall residence; Auchtermachonie, Orchel, Pannels, Ardoch, Braikoch, and Craigrossie; the castle of Drymmen, the Earle of Perth's residence; Balloch, Petkellany, and Moreland.

Betwixt Erne and Tay lyeth Easter and Wester Rindes, Fingalke, Kinmonth, Elcho abbey and castle, Easter and Wester Montcrieffes, Malar, Petthewles, Balhoussie, the ancient bourgh of Perth, pleasantly situate upon the river of Tay, betwixt two commodious greene fields, or inches, founded by King William, sirnamed the Lyon, after the abolishing of the castle of Bertha by inundation of waters, about the year of Christ 1210; the king giving great and ample priviledges to the said burgh, decored with a large and long stone

bridge over Tay of eleven arches, and now lately decayed: having reasonable commodities for shipping, with goodly fishings; of old decored with sundrie monasteries, and specially the charterhouse, now demolished; the strong castle of Dupplin, the Lord Oliphant's speciall residence; the castles of Huntingtore, (of old called Ruthwen), the castle of Methwen, Bachilton, Logyalmond castle, Cultmalindis, Tibbermure, Tibbermallow, Keillour, Gorthy, Trewn, and Strowane, the towne of Fowles, Cultoquhey, Abircarny, Inchbreky, Monyvard, Carriwechter, Fordee, Comre, Williamstown, and Dondum, with the towns of Creiffe, Ochtirtire, and Milnabe; the abbey of Inchaffrey, the Lord of Inchaffreye's residence; Innerpeffrey, the Lord of Innerpeffrey's speciall dwelling. Betwixt Almond and Tay lyes the Stormond of Straitherne, wherein are the castles and towers of Strathurd, Upper Barchels, Inchstrewy, Ochtirgewin, Arlywicht, Tullibeltane, Innernity, Inchstuthill, Murthlie, the ancient demolished castle of Kinclevin, where the water of Isla runneth in Tay. In these countries are the rivers of Farg, Meth, Erne, Urdachy, Schiochy, and Lochty, falling in Almond, where loose werke made of stone, receives a great channel of water, passing to Perth, whereon stands many milles, and filling the ditches to Spey tower; the rest of Perth is compassed with a stone wall. The city of Dunkeld, the bishops seate, situate upon Tay, with Little Dunkeld, the water of Brane falls in Tay, giving the name to Strait-brane, wherein is the castle of Trochatry: adjacent to Dunkeld lyes

the castles and towers of Rotmell, Carny, Cluny, loch and castle, Gowrdy, Mekilhour, Lethandy, Glesclun, Drumlochy, Gormoke, Blair, Ardblair, Craighall, Rettray, and Forde. In Straithardell, named from the water of Ardell, lyes the castles and towers of Morkley, Assintulle, and Innerthrosky. In Athole lying in Perthshyre, is the great and strong castle of Blair, the Earle of Athole's speciall residence; Strowane, Fascalze, Ballachan, Balladmin, the olde castle of Muling, the olde demolished castle of Logyrait, where the water Tymell flowes in Tay; the castle of Garntully, the strong fortresse of Garth, upon a great rocke, the castles of Weme, Balloch, Finlarge, Ganurquhar, Lawers, and Miggerny in Glenlyon, where the water of Lion runneth in Tay. The water of Tay cometh foorth of Lochtay, in Broad-Albin, which loch is 24 miles of length. There are other countries (as Rannoch, Balquhidder), lying betwixt Athole, Argyle, Lorne, and Lochaber, unknowne to the authour. Returning to Gowry, and the rest of Perthshyre lying betwixt Tay and Angusse, where lyes the castles and towers of Stobhall, Campsey, Byrs, Petcur, Ruthwens, Banff, Comno, Balgillo, Moncur, Inchstur, the ancient and renowned abbey of Scone, where the kings of Scotland were crowned, from the extermination of the Picts, unto the time of King Robert Bruce, at which time the fatall marble chayre was transported to Westminster, by Edward the First, (sirnamed Longshanks,) king of England. This abbey was sumptuously builded, now wholly decayed; a part

whereof is re-edified, and pleasantly repayred by the Lord of Scone, beeing his speciall residence; the castles and towers of Pokmill, Pitsindie, Balthiok, Rait, Kilspindie, Fingask, Kynnarde, Marginshe, Murey, Hill, Petfour, the towne and palace of Arroll, the Earle of Arroll's residence; Leyis, Inchmartine, Monorgund, Huntley, and Innergowry.

These countries (all in Perthshyre), are right plenteous and abundant in all kinde of cornes, beastiall, and all sort of fishes, and all other necessaries for the sustentation of man; and Athole abounds in all kinds of wild beasts and fowles, with wild horses.

Next adjacent to Gowry lyes Angusse, beginning at the bridge of Innergowrie, with the castle of Fowles, the Lord Graye's residence; the castles of Balfour, Lundy, and Dinnun; the towne of Kethens, the towne and abbey of Cupar, the castle of Newtyle, the towne and castle of Glammes, the Lord Glammes speciall residence; the towne of Killy-mure, the castles and towers of Lowry, Brigtoun, Thorntoun, Innerrichtie, Kilkaudrum, Quich, Clovoy, with parkes and woods, Innerquharitie, Gen-ilay, Wain, Dysart, Rossie, the castle of Fyn-haven, the Earle of Crawfurd's residence; the castles and towers of Melgund, Flemingtoun, Woodwre, Bannebreich, Old Bar, with the parke, Carrestoun, and Balhall, the city and castle of Brechin, the bishop's residence; the castles and towers of Dun, Craig, Edzell, Balsordy, and Newtoun; the towne or burgh of Dundee, strongly builded with stone houses, right

populous and industrious, with good shipping, and a commodious haven; a pleasant church, with a right high stone steeple; the castle of Duddope and Aurtherhouse, the Earle of Buquhan's speciall residence; the castles and towers of Strickmartin, Clawers, Mayns, Wester Ogyall, Ballumby, and Claypots; the strong fortresse and castle of Bruchty, upon a rock invironed almost with the sea. The townes of North Ferrey and Monyfuth; the castles of Grainge, Auchinleck, Easter and Wester Powres, Glen, Drumkilbo, and Teling, the towne of Forfarre, with an old castle, with a loch and an isle therein, with a tower; Cassie, Logymegle, Barnzaird, Innerkelour, the old abbey of Restenneth, with a loch, and the loch of Reskoby, the castles and towers of Woodend, Balmeshannoch, Hakerstoun, Balmady, with a loch, Balgays demolished, the castles and towers of Turings, Carsegowny, Guthrie, Garne, Ferneil, and Boshane, the Lord Ogilbie's speciall residence; the townes of Barre and Panbride; the castles of Duniken, Panmure, and Kelly, the towne and ancient abbey of Abirbrothok, with the castle, Seaton, Lethame, and Ethy, where a falcon engenders yearely upon a high rock, past memorie of man; the castles of Kinblethmont, Ley, Calistoun, Boysucke, Ardbeky, and the Red Castle; the castles and towers of Dunnenald, Usum, Craig, Bonytoun, and Kinnard.

The ancient town of Montrosse, with a commodious harborough for shipping; this towne is all builded with stone, and populous, aboundant with all kinde of fishes; the towne and castle of

old Montrosse, and the castle of Westerbracky. The rivers in Angusse are, the water of Innergowry, deviding Gowry from Angusse, the rivers of Dichty, Carbat, Isla, Brothat, Lunnen, North and South Askis. This countrie of Angusse is plentifull and aboundant in all kind of cornes, great store of beastiall, with all sort of fishes, and other commodities necessarie for man. Next adjacent to Angusse is the Merns, the townes of Kinkardin, Fourdon, Bervy, Cowey, and Stanehyve, the castles of Halgrein, Lowristoun, Durris, and Tulliquhilly, the most strong castle of Dunotter, with many pleasant buildings within the same, situate upon a rock, invironed with the ocean sea, and well furnished with ordinance and of warlike provision for defence, the Earle Marshall his residence; with the castle of Fatteresso, with woods and a pleasant parke; there are also the castles of Glenbervy, Pyttarrow, Arbuthnet, Thornetowne, Balbegenot, Hakertoun, Morphie, Benholme, Allardes, and Maters. This countrie is plenteous of beere and wheat, abounding in beastiall and fishes. The barons and gentlemen detest contention in law, remitting and submitting alwayes their actions debateable to amicable arbitrements among themselves.

North from the Merns is the mouth of the water of Dee, where is situate the ancient bourgh and marchant towne of Abirdene, well builded, and renowned for the salmond fishing thereof, well shipped. It hath a florishing colledge for instruction of youth, and a pleasant bridge, builded of stones. Neere the mouth of the river Done,

is situate the old city of Aberdene, which is the bishop's seat, where also is a goodly universitie for learning in sciences, speciall in philosophy, with a strong bridge of one arch.

Betwixt Dee and Done beginneth the countrie of Marre, grewing always wider and wider, till it be three score miles of length, and comes to Badezenoch. In Marre is the towne of Kinkardin of Neil, the castles of Drum, Leyes, Skein, Monimuske, Halforrest, the town of Kintor, the castles of Abirgeldy, Lenturke, Corsse, Aslun, Kildrimmy, Innerbuchat, Cluny, Corsinda, Muchal, Cragywar, Comgarth, Klenkindy, and New Lochaber. Badezenoch and Marre comprehend the bredth of Scotland between the two seas.

Next Marre, upon the north, lyes the Garecch, wherein is the towne of Innerwry, the castles of Balquhan, Fethernere, Caskybane, Auchinhuiff, Meldrum, Pitcaple, Pittodry, Harthill: not farre distant is the most high mountaine of Bannochy, the highest mountaine in the north, for saylers comming from the easter seas, take up land first by this mountaine. The castles of Lesly and Wardes, the ancient castle of Dinnedure, upon a high mountaine, called the Golden Mountaine, by reason of the sheepe that pasture thereupon, whose teeth are so extraordinarie yellow, as if they were coloured with gold; there is also the castle of Drumminor, the Lord Forbes residence. Next Garecch, upon the north east, lies Buquhan, wherein is situate the towne of Newburgh, upon the water of Itham, aboundant in salmond and other fishes; the townes of Peterhead and Frissel-

burgh; the castles of Fophern, Asselmond, Arnage, Tochone, Kelly, Straloch, Udney, and upon the north east side thereof, there is a rocke, where are found sundry well coloured stones of divers hews, verie pleasant, some quadrant, pointed and transparent, resembling much the orientall diamond, for they are proved to bee better than either the Virginean or Bohemian diamond. There are also the castles of Pitmedden, Hadde, Gicht, Fywie, the ancient castle of Slanes, Watterton, Enderrugy, with the strong castle of the Craig of Enderrugy; the castles of Fillorth, Pitsligo, Feddreth, Towy, Balquhaly, Dalgatie, the tower of Torrey, and the castle of Mures. This countrie stretches farthest in the Germane seas of all the countries in Scotland, fertile in store and cornes; and in it selfe sufficient in all the other commodities necessarie for the countrie: there is abundance of salmond and other fishes taken in all the waters thereof, except the water of Rattry, where unto this day there was never any salmond seene. Next Buquhan, upon the north, lyes Boyne and Enze; in Boyne is the towne of Bamffe, and castle thereof, situate upon the river of Divern; there is also the castles of Boyne, Finlatar, with the towne of Culane, situate upon the sea coast. Next lies the land of Straithbogy, where is the castle and palace of Straithbogy, the speciall residence of the Marquesse of Huntley; the castles of Fendraugh, Pitlurge, Carnbarrow, Rothemay, the Lord Salton's chiefe residence; Kinnardy, Cromby, Achindore, Lesmore, Balwany, Blarsindy, Drimmyn, Dusky,

Ballindalloch, Balla Castle, and Aikenway: these foresaid countries are plenteous in cornes, beastiall, and in fishings.

Next upon the north is the water of Spey, aboundant in salmond and all other fishes. Neere the sea lyes Bogygicht, a faire palace, with fine orchards. Endlong Spey lies Murrey-land, with the city of Elgyn, upon the water of Lossy, the Bishop of Murreye's seat, with a church sumptuously builded, but now decayed. In Murrey are many strong castles and other strong houses, as the castles of Blairy, Monynesse, the castles of Spinay, with a pleasant loch, abounding in fishes, the castles of Innes and Duffus, the castle and towne of Forres, the great castle of Tarnuaye, the principall residence of the Earle of Murrey; the castles of Caddall and Kilravicke, with divers gentlemens strong stone houses, adjacent about the town of old Erne. In Murrey are two famous abbeyes, Pluscardy and Kinlus, the castle of Lovat, the Lord Lovat's residence. There is also the most ancient towne of Innernes, and the strong castles thereof, situate on the water of Næs, which descends from a loch named Loch Næs, thirtie four miles in length: this water of Næs is alwayes warme, and never freeseth, in such sort, as in winter time yce falling into it is dissolved by the heate thereof. West from Lochness, there lye eight miles of continent ground, and that small peece is the only impediment that the seas joyne not, and make the remanent of Scotland an island, for all the land that lyes betwixt the strait and the Deucalidon sea, is cut by

creekes and loches of salt water running unto the land.

From the mouth of Næs, where it enters in the Germane sea, north lyes Rosse, shooting in the sea in great promontories or heads. The countrie of Rosse is of greater length than bredth, extending from the Germane to the Deucalidon sea, where it ryseth in craggy and wild hilles; and yet in the plaine fields thereof, there is as great fertility of corne, as in any other part of Scotland. There are in Rosse pleasant dales, with waters and loches full of fishes, specially Loch-broome; it is broad at the Deucalidon sea, and growes narrow by little and little, turning southward from the other shore, the Germane sea (winning itselfe an entrie betwixt high clints), runnes within the land in a wide bosome, and makes an healthfull port and sure refuge against all tempests and stormes; the entrie of it is easie, and within it is a very sure haven against all injuries of sea, and a haven for great navies of ships. Loch-broome is abundant of salmond and all other fishes. The townes in Rosse are, the city of the Channonrie, the bishop's seat, with a strong castle, the towne of Rosemary, the castles of Read-castle, Dingwall, the abbey of Bewly, the castles of Cromarty, Miltoun, Fowls, Ballingoun, the towne of Tane, the castles of Catboll, Torbat, Loselun, and Kayne, with many others. The waters in Rosse are, Cromarty, the water of Tane, the water of Næs; also mountaynes of allabaster, and hilles of white marble: there are many other parts in Rosse, too longsome to describe. In the height

of Rosse, bordering with Southerland and Straithnavern, lyes Assint, a countrie full of boastiall, where the castle of Ardwrek lyes. Next Rosse lies Southerland, the speciall towne is Dornorch, with a strong castle; the castles of Skibow, Pulrossy, Skelbo, Clyne, Dunrobene, the Earle of Southerland's residence, with goodly orchards, where growes good saphron; Golspitoun. The rivers are Ferrybuns, Brora, Helmisdaill, with a castle, abundant in salmond and other fishes, and good store of beastiall; there are also hilles of white marble, and the Ord head, being very high, and of difficil passage. In Southerland is good salt and coales. Three miles above the river of Brora, the Earle of Southerland hath one island, called Broray, a delectable habitation, and pleasant for hunting of red deere and roes, in the wildness of both the sides of the loch. Next Southerland lyes Straithnavern, the castle of Far, where the Lord of Makky hath his speciall residence; the castles of Tunge, the countrie of Straithy and Durines, with the castle thereof, with sundry islands, as Ship-land, Hip-land, Marten island, Conny island, all unknowne to the author. Next lyes Caithnes, where it marches with Stranaverne, is the furthest north countrie of all Scotland, and those two draw the bredth of Scotland in a narrow front. In them are three promontaries, or heads, the highest whereof is in Stranaverne, called Orcas, or Travidum, the other two, not so high, are in Caithnes, Vervedrum, now named Hoya, and Berebrum, now called Dunsby; at the foote of this hill there is a

pretty haven for them that travell from Orknay by sea: there are mountaines called Hoburn-head, Maydens Pape, the Castle of Baridale, with a river abundant in salmond and other fishes. The castle of Dumbeth, with a goodly river, with the townes of Weik and Thirso, with Ichon, a river; the castle of Gerniggo, the Earle of Caithnes speciall residence; the castles of Aker-gile, Keis, Presik, old Weik, Ormly, Skrabstar, Dunray, Brawl, and May; Dunnethead is a hill of marble. The rivers are, the river of Berridale, Dunberth, Weik, Thirso, Fors. This countrie is abundant in cornes, beastiall, salmond, and all other fishes.

OF THE

ISLES OF SCOTLAND IN GENERALL.

NOW resteth it to speak somewhat of the isles: they are divided (which as it were a crowne) in three classes, or rankes, the West Isles, Orknay Isles, and Shetland Isles; the West Isles lye in the Deucalidon sea, from Ireland, almost to Orknay; upon the west side of Scotland they are called Hebrides, and by some Aebudæ; they are scattered into the Deucalidon sea, to the number of three hundred and above. Of old the kings of Scotland kept these isles in their possession, untill the time of Donald, brother to King Malcolme the Third, who gave them to the king of Norway, upon condition that hee should assist him in usurping of the kingdome of Scotland, against law and reason. The Danes and Norway people kept possession of them for the space of 160 yeeres; and then King Alexander the Third, overcomming the Danes and Norway men in a great battell, thrust them out of the isles; yet afterward they attempted to recover their liberty, partly trusting to their owne strength, and partly moved by seditions in the maine land of this countrie, creating kings of themselves, as not long agoe, John (of the house of Clandonald) did usurpe

the name of king, as others had done before. In food, rayment, and all things pertaining to their family, they use the ancient frugality of the Scots.

Their bankets are hunting and fishings; they seeth their flesh in the tripe, or else in the skinne of the beasts, filling the same full of water. Now and then in hunting, they straine out the blood and eate the flesh raw. Their drinke is the broth of sodden flesh. They love very well the drinke made of whey, and kept certaine yeares, drinking the same at feasts; it is named of them *Blandum*. The most part of them drinke water. Their custome is to make their bread of oates and barly, (which are the onely kinds of graine that grow in those parts). Experience (with time) hath taught them to make it in such sort, that it is not unpleasant to eate. They take a little of it in the morning, and so passing to the hunting, or any other businesse, content themselves therewith, without any other kind of meat till evening.

They delight to wear marled clothes, specially that have long stripes of sundry soloures; they love chiefly purple and blew. Their predecessors used short mantles or playdes of diverse colours, sundrie way devided; and amongst some, the same custome is observed to this day, but for the most part now they are brown, most neere to the colour of the hadder, to the effect when they lye amongst the hadder, the bright colour of their plaids shall not bewray them; with the which, rather coloures than clad, they suffer the most cruell tempest that blow, in the open field, in such sort, that under a wryth of snow they sleep sound.

In their houses also, they lye upon the ground, laying betwixt them and it brakens, or hadder, the roots thereof downe, and the tops up, so prettily laid together, that they are as soft as feather beds, and much more wholesome; for the tops themselves are dry of nature, whereby they dry the weake humours, and restore againe the strength of the sinewes troubled before, and that so evidently, that they who at evening goe to rest sore and wearie, rise in the morning whole and able. As none of these people doe care for feather beds and bedding, so take they great pleasure in rudenesse and hardnesse. If for their owne commodity, or upon necessitie, they travell to any other countrie, they reject the feather beds and bedding of their host: they wrap themselves in their owne plaids, so taking their rest, carefull indeed lest that barbarous delicacy of the maine land, (as they terme it,) corrupt their naturall and countrie hardnesse.

Their armour, wherewith they cover their bodyes in time of warre, is an yron bonnet and an habbergion, side almost even to their heeles. Their weapons against their enemies are bowes and arrows. The arrows are for the most part hooked, with a barble on eyther side, which once entered within the body, cannot be drawne foorth againe, unlesse the wound bee made wider. Some of them fight with broad swords and axes. In place of a drum, they use a bagpipe. They delight much in musick, but chiefly in harpes and clairschoes of their owne fashion. The strings of the clairschoes are made of brasse wyre, and the

in and makes a well large creeke into it; the entries whereof are closed by the island Molas, a verie sure haven for shippes; and in the waters, which are alwayes calme, is great abundance of fish, that sundry times the countrie people taking more than may sustaine them for a day, they cast them in againe in the sea, as it were in a stanke. Next Arrane, lies the Isle Flada, fertil of conies. Farther in it is situate the Isle of Bute, within the Firth of Clyde, 8 miles in length and 4 in bredth, from Arrane 8 miles south east, and from Argyle south west halfe a mile, Cuningham lyes by east of it six miles. It is a low countrie, commodious for corn and store, with a towne of [redacted] and the old castle of Rosa, with [redacted] midst of it, named Cames. The Isle Mernoca, a mile of length and halfe a mile of bredth, lyes low, south westwards, well manured and fertill. Within the Firth of Clyde lyes Little Cambra, fertill of fallow deere; and Great Cambra, fertill of cornes. From the Mule of Kintyre, a little more than a mile, is *Porticosa Avona*, getting that name from the creeke of water that kept the Danes navy there, at what time they had the isles in their hands. North west from the Mule, over against the coast of Ireland, lyes Rachuda. And from Kintyre foure miles, is the isle Caraia; and not farre from thence Gigaia, sixe miles of length, and a mile and a halfe of bredth. Twelve miles from Gigaia lyes Jura, foure and twentie miles of length. The shore side of Jura is well manured, and the inward part of the countrie is clad with wood, full

A

SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND,

LYING IN THE DEUCALIDON SEA, BEING ABOUT THREE HUNDRED; ALSO THE ISLES IN ORKNAY AND SCHETLAND, OR HETHLAND.

THE first is the Isle of Man, of old called Dubonia; there was a towne in it named Sodora, the bishop of the isles seat. It lyes almost midway betwixt Ireland and Cumber, in England, and Galloway in Scotland, 24 miles in length, and 18 in breadth. Next unto Man is Ailsay, into the Firth of Clyde, with a castle therein, and hard high craig on all sides, except at one entrie, unmanured: There comes a great number of boittes there to fish keeling. There are many conies and solayne geese in it. It lyes betwixt Ireland upon the west, Carriche upon the south east, and Kintyre upon the north west. Twenty four miles from Ailsay, lyes Arrane, almost directe north, 24 miles of length, and 10 of breidth. The whole island viseth in high and wild mountaines, manured onely upon the sea side, where the ground is lowest. The sea runnes

in bredth, extended from the south to the north, abundant in store, cornes, deere, and lead; there is a fresh water in it, called Laia, and a creeke of salt water, and therein are many islands. There is also a fresh water loch, wherein stands the island named Falingania, some time the chiefe seat of all the isles men. There the governour of the isles, usurping the name of king, was wont to dwell. Neere unto this island, and somewhat lesse than it, is the Round Island, taking the name from counsell, for therein was the justice seat, and foureteene of the most worthy of the countrie did minister justice unto all the rest continually, and intreated of the waighty affaires of the realme in counsell, whose great equitie and discretion kept peace both at home and abroad; and with peace was the companion of peace, abundance of all things. Betwixt Isla and Jura, lyes a little island, taking the name from a cairne of stones. At the south of Isla, doe lye Colurna, Mulvoria, Ossuna, Brigidana, Corskera, the Low island, Imersga Beathia, Texa, Oviculária, Nonsiga, Vinarda, Cava, Tarsheria, the great island Auchnarra, the island made like a man, the isle of John Slakebadis. At the west corner of Isla lies Overa, where the sea is most tempestuous, and at certaine houres unnavigable. The Marchants island, and south westwards from it, Ussbrasta, Tanasta and Nesa. The Weavers island, eight miles from Isla, somewhat north, lies Ornansa. Next unto it, the Swines island, halfe a mile from Ornansa, Coluansa. North from Coluansa, lyes the Mule, 20 miles from Isla. This

isle is 24 miles of length, and as much in bredth, fruitfull of cornes. There are many woods in it, and many heards of deere, and a good haven for ships: there are in it two waters well spred of salmond fishes, and some stripes not empty thereof. There are also two loches in it, and in every one an island, and in every island a tower. The sea running in this island at foure sundry parts, makes foure salt water loches therein, all foure abounding in herring. To the north west lyes Columbaria, or the Dove island. To the south east Era, both the one and the other profitable for beastiall, cornes, and for fishings. From this island lyes the island of Sainct Colme, two miles of length, and more than a mile of bredth, fertill of all things, renowned by the ancient monuments of the countrie. There were two abbeyes in this island, and a court or a parish church, with many chappells, builded of the liberality of the kings of Scotland, and governours of the isles. There is yet remaining amongst the old ruines, a buriall place, or church-yard, common to all the noble families of the west isles; wherein there are three tombes higher than the rest, distant one from another a little space, and three little houses, situated to the east, builded severally upon the three tombes: upon the west side are stones graven, which stand in the midst, bearing this title, *the tombes of the kings of Scotland.* It is said there were 48 kings of Scotland buried there. The tombe upon the right side hath this inscription, *the tombes of the kings of Ireland.* It is recorded that there were four kings of Ireland buried there.

Upon the left side it hath this inscription, *the tombes of the kings of Norway*. The report is, that there were eight kings of that nation buried there. The notable houses of the isles have their tombes in the rest of the church yard, severally by themselves. About this island, and neere unto it, there are six islands, right fruitfull, given by the ancient kings of Scotland and governours of the Isles, to the abbey of Sanct Colme. Soa is a verie profitable ground for sheepe, but the chiefe commodities in it consist in sea fowles that build therein, specially of their eggs. Next unto it is the Isle of Women; then Rudana; neere unto it Berdira, and from that Sheenia, halfe a mile distant from the Mule. The sea side of it abound in conyes. Five miles hence lyes Frosa. All their isles are subject to Sanct Colme's abbey. Two miles from Frosa lyeth Vilua, five miles of length, fruitfull of corne and store, with a commodious haven for gallies or boates. Upon the south side of it lyeth Toluansa, with a wood of nut trees, reasonable fruitfull. About 300 paces from this island, lyeth Gomatra, two miles long, and one mile broad, extending from the north to the south. From Gomatra, four miles southward, lye the two Staffe, both full of harvening places. From thence, four miles south east, lye the two Kerimburgæ, the more and the lesse, environed with such high shore, and furious tide, that by their owne naturall defence, (supported somewhat by the industrie of man,) they are altogether invincible. One mile from them lyes an island, the whole earth is blacke, whereof the people

make peates for their fire. Next lyeth Longa, two miles of length, and Bacha, halfe as much. From Bacha six miles, lyes Tiria, eight miles in length and three in bredth, most fertill of all the islands; it aboundeth in store, cornes, fishes, and sea fowles. In this island there is a fresh water loch, and therein an old castle, with a good haven for boates. From this island two miles, lies Sunna, and from Sunna as farre, lyeth Colla, twelve miles of length, and two miles of bredth, a fertill island. Not farre from it is Culsa, almost full of wood; and then two islands, named Mekle Viridis and Little Viridis; *item*, other two of the same names. Over against the Mule's head, and not farre from it, lye two islands, named Glassæ, and then Arden-Eider, that is, the high land of the Rider. Then Luparia, or the Wolfe island; and after it a great isle, lying north from Colla, extending east and west. Then Ruma, 16 miles in length, and six in bredth: the sea fowles lay their egges heere and there in the ground. In the middest of spring time, when the egges are laid, any man may take of them. In the high rockes, the solayne geese are taken in abundance. From this island foure miles north eastward, lyes the Horse island; from it halfe a mile, the Swine island, fruitfull enough in all things necessarie: the falcon builded in it, with a good haven. Not farre from it lyes Canna and Egga, fertill enough. In Egga are solayne geese. Soabrittella, profitable for hunting. From this island is the Isle of Skye, the greatest of all the islands that are about Scotland, lying north and south, forty miles in

length, and eight miles broad in some places, and in other places twelve miles, rising in hilles, in sundry places full of woods and pastorage; the ground thereof fertill in corne and store; and besides all other kind of beastiall, fruitfull of mares for breeding of horse. It hath five great rivers rich in salmond, and many little waters plentie in salmond, and other fishes. The sea running in the land on all sides, make many salt waters, three principall, and thirteen others, all rich in herring. There is in it a fresh water loch and five castles. About the Skye lye little islands scattered here and there. Oronsa, fertil in corne and store. Cunicularia, full of bushes and conyes. Next is Paba; eight miles from Paba, south west, lyes Scalpa, which (besides sundry other commodities,) hath woodes full of troopes of deere. Betwixt the mouthe of Lochcarron and Raorsa, lyes Crulinga, seven miles of length, and two of bredth; there is a sure haven in it for ships; there are in it also woodes full of bucke and deere. Halfe a mile from Crulinga is Rona, full of wood and hadder, with a good haven in the innermost loch thereof. In the mouth of the same loch, is an island of the same name, called Gerloch. From Rona six miles northward, lyes Flada; two miles from Flada, Euilmena. Upon the south side of Skye lyes Oronsa, and a mile from it Kyna Pabra, and Great Bina, and then five little islands. Next unto them is Isa, fertill in cornes; beside it is Ouia, then Askerma and Lindella; eight miles from Skye southward, lies Linga and Gigarmena, Benera, Megala, Paua, Flada, Scarpa, Vernecum,

Sandara, Vatersa, which by many other good commodities, hath a haven commodious for a number of great ships, whereinto fishermen of all countries about convene certaine times of the yeare ordinarly. These last nine islands are subject to the bishop of the isles. Two miles from Vatersa is Barra, running from the north west to the south east, seven miles in length, fruitfull of cornes, and abundant in fish; there runneth in it a loch with a narrow throat, growing round and wide within. In it there is an inch, and therein a strong castle. Upon the north side of Barra, there ryseth an hill full of hearbs, from the foot to the head, upon the top whereof is a fresh water well; the spring that runneth from this well to the next sea, carries with it little things, like as they were quicke, but having the shape of no beast, which appeare (although obscurly), in some respect to represent the fish that is commonly called cockles. The people that dwell there, call the part of the shore whereunto these things are carried, the Great Sands, because that when the sea ebbes, there appeares nothing but dry sands the space of a mile. Out of the sands the people digge out great cockles, which the neighboures about judge either to grow (as it were,) of that seed that the springs doe bring from the well, or else (indeed) to grow in that sea. Betwixt Barra and Wist, lye these islands; Orousa, Onia, Hakerseta, Garnlanga, Flada, Great Buya, Little Buya, Haya, Hell sea, Gigaia, Lingaia, Forsia, Fudaia, Eriscaia. From these islands, Vistus lyes northward 34 miles of length, and six of bredth. The

tide of the sea running in two places of this isle, causeth it to appeare three islands, but when the tide is out, it becommeth all one island. In it are many fresh water loches, specially one three miles long. The sea hath worne in upon the land, and made it selfe a passage to this loch, and can never be holden out, albeit the inhabitants have made a wall of sixtie foote broad to that effect: the water entereth in amongst the stones that are builded up together, and leaves behind it at the ebbe, many sea fishes. There is a fish in it like to the salmond in all things, except that with the white wombe, it hath a blacke backe, and wanteth scales. In this island are many fresh water loches, sundry caves covered with hadder. In it are five churches. Eight miles west from it lyes Helsther Wetularum, pertaining to the nuns of the isle of Ione. A little further north riseth Haneskera: about this island, at certaine times of the yeare, are many sealches; they are taken by the countrie men. South west almost sixtie miles, lies Hirta, fertill in cornes and store, and specially in sheepe, greater than any other sheepe in any other islands. About the 17th day of June, the lord of this island sendeth his chamberlaine to gather his dueties, and with him a minister, who baptizeth all the children that are borne the year preceding; and if the minister come not, every man baptizeth his own child. This Hirta is the last and farther isle in Albion; so that betwixt the Isle of Man, being the first isle in Albion, and this isle, there is 377 miles. Returning to Wistus, from the north poynt thereof

is the island of Velaia, two miles long, and one mile of bredth. Betwixt this point and the island Harea, lyes Soa, Stroma, Pabaia, Barneraia, Emsaia, Kelligira, Little Saga, Great Saga, Harmodra, Scaria, Grialinga, Cillinsa, Hea, Hoia, Little Soa, Great Soa, Isa, Great Seuna, Little Seuna, Taransa, Slegana, Tuemon. All these islands are fruitfull in cornes and store. Above Horea is Scarpa; and halfe a mile towards the west equinoctiall, from the Lewes, lye seven little islands, named Flananæ, some holy place (in old times), of girth or refuge, rising up in hilles full of hearbes. Further north in the same ranke, lyes Garn-Ellan, that is, the Hard Isle; Lamba, Flada, Kellasa, Little Bernera, Great Bernera, Kirta, Great Bina, Little Bina, Vexaia, Pabaia, Great Sigrama, Cunicularia, plentie of conyes, Little Sigrama. The island of the Pigmeis, wherein there is a church, in which the Pigmeis were buried, (as they that are neighbours to this island beleeve). Sundrie strangers digging deeply in the ground, some times have found, and yet to this day do find, very little round heads, and other little bones of man's body, which seemes to approve the truth and appearance of the common bruite. In the north east side of the island Leogus, there are two lochs running foorth of the sea, named the North and South Loches, wherein at all times of the yeare, there is abundance of fish for all men that list to take them. From the same side of the loch, somewhat more southerly, lyes Fabilla, Adams island, the Lambe island; *item*, Hulmetia, Viccoilla, Hana, Rera, Laxa,

Era, the Dove Island, Tora, Affurta, Scalpa, Flada, Senta, at the east side thereof, there is a passage under the earth, vaulted above a flight shoote of length, into the which little boates may either sayle or row, for eschewing of the violent tide. Somewhat eastward lyes an island named Old Castle, a roome strong of nature, and plentie of cornes, fish, and egges of sea fowles, to nourish the inhabitants. At that side where Lochbrien enters, is situate the island Ew; more northly lyes the island Grumorta, both these islands full of wood. The island named the Priests island, lies the same way, profitable for pastorage of sheepe, and full of sea fowles. Next unto it is Afulla and Great Hebrera, then Little Hebrera; and neere unto it the Horse isle, and then Marta Ika. These last mentioned islands lye all before the entry of Lochbrien; and from them north lye Hary and Lewis, 16 miles of length and 16 of bredth. These two make an island, which is not divided by any haven or port of the sea, but by the severall lords the heritoures thereof. The south part is named Haray; in it some time was the abbey Roadilla, builded by *Maccleude Hareis*, a countrie fertill enough in cornes and good pastorage, with a high hill, overcovered with grasse to the verie top; many sheepe are seene feeding there masterlesse, pertaining peculiarly to no man, for there is neither wolfe, fox, or serpent, seene there; albeit, betwixt that and Lewis there be great woods full of deere. In that part of the island is a water, well stored of salmond and other fishes. Upon the north side it is well ma-

nured. Upon the sea side there are four churches, one castle, seven great running waters, and twelve lesse, all plentifull of salmond and other fishes. The sea enters in the land in divers parts, making sundrie salt water loches, all plentifull of herring, with aboundance of sheepe. In this countrie is great abundance of barley. In this island is such aboundance of whales taken, (as aged men report,) their tenth will extend to 27 whales: also a great cave, wherein the sea at a low water abides two fadome high, and at a full sea four fadome deepe. People of all sort and ages sit upon the rockes thereof, with hooke and line, taking great multitude of all kinde of fishes. South east from Lewis, almost 60 miles, there is a fertill island, low and plaine, called Rona, well manured; the lord of the ground limits certaine number of households to occupy it, appoynting for every household few or many sheepe, according to his pleasure, whereon they may easily live and pay his rent. In this island is a chappel dedicated to St. Rona, wherein (as aged men report), there is alwayes a spade, wherewith when any is dead, they finde the place of his grave marked. Besides other fishes in this island, is great plentie of whales. Sixteen miles from Rona, west, lies Suilkeraria, a mile of length, but in it growes no kinde of hearbe, not so much as hadder; sea fowles lay egges there, and doe hatch. They of Leogus, next neighbours unto it, get great profit thereby. In that island is seene a rare kind of fowle, unknowne to other countries, called Colca, little lesse than a goose; they come in the spring time, and every yeere have and

nourish their young ones. They cast their feathers, which have no stalke, like unto downe.

Now follow the isles of Orknay, (of old called the realme of the Picts,) lying scattered, partly in the Deucalidon sea, partly in the Germane sea. The common people to this day are verie careful to keep the ancient frugality of their predecessors, and in that respect they continue in good health, for the most part, both in mind and body, so that few die of sicknesse, but all for age. They have barley and oates, whereof they make both bread and drinke. They have sufficient store of quicke goods, neate, sheepe, and goates, great plentie of milk, cheese, and butter. They have innumerable sea fowles, whereof (and of fish for the most part), they make their common food. There is no venemous beast in Orknay. There is no kind of tree except hadder. They have an old cup amongst them, called St. Magnus cup, the first man that brought the Christian religion in that countrie. There are about thirty-three islands in Orknay, whereof thirteen are inhabited, the remnant are reserved for nourishing of cattle. The greatest isle is named Pomona; the firme land 30 miles of length sufficiently inhabited. It hath twelve countrie parish churches, and one towne, called Kirkwall. In this towne there are two towers, builded not farre the one from the other; one of them appertaines to the king, the other to the bishop. Betwixt these two towers stands one church, very magnifick: betwixt the church and the towers, on either side, are sundry goodly buildings, which the inhabitants name the king's

towne and the bishop's towne. The whole island runnes out in promontories or heads, the sea running in, and makes sure havens for ships, and harboures for boates. In six sundry places of this isle there are mines of good lead and tin, as it is to be found in any part of Britaine. This island is distant from Caithness about 24 miles, divided by the Picts sea. In this sea are diverse islands scattered here and there; of whom Stronsa, lying four miles from Caithnes, is one, very fruitfull, the Earles of Caithnes being lord thereof. Northward lyes South Ranalsa, five miles long, with a commodious haven, with two little islands or holmes, good for pastorage. Toward the north lies Burra, Suna, Flata, Farra, Hoia, and Walles. In these islands are the highest hilles that are in all Orknay. Hoia and Walles are 10 miles of length, distant from Ranalsay 8 miles, and more than 20 from Dunkirke in Caithnes. North is the isle Granisa and Cobesa; Siapinsa, turning somewhat east, lies two miles from Kirkwall, even over against it, six miles of length. Right west from Siapinsa, are Garsa and Eglisa, foure miles of length. In this island they say St. Magnus is buried. Next, and somewhat neerer the continent land, is Rusa, four miles of length, and three of bredth, well peopled. Westward lyes the island Broca. Some islands lye to the north, as Stronsa, next Linga, 5 miles of length, and two of bredth. Haa, five miles of length, and two of bredth. By east lies Fara, and north from Fara lies Wastra, running out in the sea in promontories or heads. Above Stronsa, at the east end of Etha, lyes

Sanda, northward 10 miles of length, and four of bredth, most fertill of cornes of all the isles of Orknay, but it hath no kind of fire within it, making exchange of cornes for peats. Beyond Sanda lies North Ranalsa, two miles of length, and two of bredth. Upon the south side of Pomona lyes Rusa, six miles of length; and from it eastward, Eglisa, South Veragersa; and not farre from it Westraa; from which Hethland is distant 80 miles, and Papastronza lyes 80 miles from Hethland. In the midway betwixt, lyes Fara, that is, the Fayre island, standing in the sight of Orknay and Hethland both; it riseth in three promontories or heads, and shore craig round about, without any kind of entrance, except at the south east, where it growes little lower, making a sure harborow for small boates. Next is the greatest isle of all Hethland, named the Mayne land, 16 miles of length. There are sundry promontories or heads in it, specially two, one long and small, which runnes north, the other broader, in some part 16 miles, runnes north east, inhabited upon the sea coast. There is good fishing in all these parts, the people's commodity standing most by the sea. Ten miles north lies Zeall, 20 miles of length, and 8 miles of bredth. The Bremes marchants do bring all wares needfull. Betwixt this island and the maine land, lye Ling, Orna, Bigga, Sanct Ferry. Two miles northward lies Unsta, more than 20 miles of length, and 6 miles of bredth, a pleasant countrie and plaine. Uia and Ura, are betwixt Unsta and Zeall. Skenna and Burna lye westward from Unsta, Balta, Hunega,

and Fotlora, 7 miles long; and seven miles eastward from Unsta, Mecla, with the three islands of East Skennia, Chualsa, Nestwada, Brasa, and Musa; upon the west side lye West Schemniæ, Roria, Little Papa, Veneda, Great Papa, Valla, Trondra, Burra, Great Haura, Little Haura, and many other holmes lying scattered amongst them. The Hethlandishmen use the same kind of foode that Orknay men use, but yet they are most scarce in house keeping. In this island no kind of shee beast will live 24 houres together, except ky, ewes, conies, and such like beasts as may be eaten. The people are apparelled after the *Almaine* fashion, and according to their substance, not unseemely. Their commodity consisteth in course cloth, which they sell to Norway men, with fish, oyle, and butter. They fish in little cockboates, bought from Norway men that make them. They salt some of the fish that they take, and some of them they dry in the wind. They sell those wares, and pay their masters with the silver thereof.

OF THE GREAT PLENTIE

OF HARES, RED DEERE,

AND OTHER WILDE BEASTES IN SCOTLAND.

Of the Strange Properties of sundry Scottish Dogs;

AND OF THE NATURE OF SALMOND.

HAVING made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland: now touching some things concerning the same in generall. In the fields, and in all places of the countrie, (except the parts where continuall habitation of people makes impediment,) there is great abundance of hares, red deere, fellow deere, roes, wild horses, wolves, and foxes, and specially in the high countries of Athole, Argyle, Lorne, Lochaber, Marre, and Badezenoch, where is sundry times seene 1500 red deere, being hunted all together. These wilde horses are not gotten but by great slight and policie, for in the winter season the inhabitants turne certaine tame horses and mares amongst them, wherewith in the end they grow so familiar, that they after-

ward goe with them to and fro, and finally home into their masters yardes, where they bee taken and soone broken to their hands, the owners obtaining great profit thereby. The wolves are most fierce and noysome unto the heardes and flockes in all parts of Scotland. Foxes do much mischiefe in all steads, chiefly in the mountaines, where they bee hardly hunted; howbeit, art hath devised a meane to prevent their malice and to preserve the poultry in some part, and especially in Glen-moores, every house nourishes a young foxe, and then killing the same, they mixe the flesh thereof amongst such meate as they give unto the fowles and other little beastiall; and by this meanes, so many fowles or cattell as eate hereof, are safely preserved from the danger of the foxe, by the space of almost two monthes after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the foxes smelling the flesh of their fellowes, yet in their crops, will in no wayes meddle with them, but eschew and know such a one, although it were among a hundred of others. In Scotland are dogs of marveylous condition, above the nature of other dogs: the first is a hound, of great swiftnesse, hardiness, and strength, fierce and cruell upon all wilde beasts, and eger against thieves that offer their masters any violence: the second is a rach, or hound, verie exquisite in following the foote, (which is called drawing,) whether it bee of man or beast; yea, he will pursue any maner of fowle, and find out whatsoever fish haunting the land, or lurking amongst the rocks,

specially the otter, by that excellent scent of smelling wherewith he is indued: the third sort is no greater than the aforesaid raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else black and full of red markes; these are so skillfull, (being used by practice,) that they will pursue a thiefe, or thiefe stolne goods, in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great audacity, they will make a race upon him, or if hee take the water for his safeguard, hee shrinketh not to follow him; and entring and issuing at the same places where the party went in and out, hee never ceaseth to range till hee hath noysed his footing, and bee come to the place wherein the thiefe is shrowded or hid. These dogs are called Sleuth-hounds. There was a law amongst the borderers of England and Scotland, that whosoever denied entrance to such a hound, in pursute made after felons and stolne goods, should be holden as accessary unto the theft, or taken for the self same thiefe.

Of fowles, such as (I meane) live by prey, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshawks, sparhawkes, marlions, and such like. But of water fowles there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of fowles, the like are rare to bee seene, as the capercaily, greater in body than the raven, living onely by the rindes and barkes of trees. There are also many moore cockes and hennes, which abstaining from corne, doe feede onely upon hadder

crops. These two are verie delicate in eating: The third is reddish, blacke of colour, in quantity compared to the phesant, and no less delicious in taste and savour at the table, called the blacke or wilde cocks.

Salmond is more plentifull in Scotland than in any other region of the world: in harvest time they come from the seas up in small rivers, where the waters are most shallow, and there the male and female, rubbing their bellies or wombs, one against the other, they shed their spawne, which foorthwith they cover with sand and gravell, and so depart away: from hencefoorth they are gaunt and slender, and in appearance so lean, appearing nought else but skin and bone; and therefore out of use and season to be eaten. Some say if they touch any their full fellowes during the time of their leannes, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane. The foresaid spawne and melt being hidden in the sand (as you have heard), in the next spring doth yeeld great number of little fry, so nesh and tender for a long time, that, till they come to bee so great as a man's finger, (if you catch any of them) they melt away as it were gelly or a blob of water; from henceforth they goe to the sea, where within twenty dayes, they grow to a reasonable greatness, and then returning to the place of their generation, they show a notable spectacle to be considered. There are many linnes or pooles, which being in some places among the rocks very shallow above and deepe beneath, with the

fall of the water, and thereto the salmond not able to pierce through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the discent, hee goeth so neere unto the side of the rocke or dam as he may, and there adventuring to leape over and up into the linne, if he leape well at the first, hee obtaineth his desire, if not, he assayeth eftsoone the second or third time, till he returne to his countrie. A great fish able to swim against the stream; such as assay often to leape, and cannot get over, doe bruse themselves, and become meazelled; others that happen to fall upon dry land, (a thing often seene,) are taken by the people (watching their time; some in cawdrons of hot water, with fire under them, sit upon shallow or dry places, in hopes to catch the fattest, by reason of their waight, that do leape short. The taste of these is esteemed most delicate, and their prices commonly great. In Scotland it is straightly inhibited to take any salmond from the eight of September untill the fifteenth of November. Finally, their is no man that knoweth readily whereon this fish liveth, for never was any thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimy humour. In the desart and wild places of Scotland, there groweth an hearbe of itselfe, called hadder, or hather, verie delicate for all kinde of cattell to feede upon, and also for diverse fowles, but bees especially. This hearbe, in June, yeeldeth a purple flower, as sweete as honey, whereof the Picts, in times past, did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the

body; but since their time, the manner of the making hereof is perished in the subversion of the Picts; neither showed they ever the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. There is no part of Scotland so unprofitable (if it were skilfully searched), but it produceth either iron or some other kinde of mettall, as may be proved through all the isles of Scotland.

A MEMORIALL

OF THE

MOST RARE AND WONDERFULL THINGS

OF

SCOTLAND.

AMONGST many commodities that Scotland hath common with other nations, it is beautified with some rare gifts in itselfe, wonderfull to consider: as for example, in Orknay the ewes are of such fœcundity, that everie lambing time, they produce at least two, and ordinarly three. There bee neither venemous nor ravenous beasts bred there, nor doe live there, although they were transported thither.

In Schetland, the isles called Thulæ, at the entering of the sun in Cancer, the space of 20 dayes, there appeare no night at all. Among the rockes grow the delectable lambre called Succinum, with great resort of the mertrick for costly furrings. In the west and north west of Scotland, there is a great repayring of the Erne, of a marvelous nature, the people are very curious to catch him, and punze his wings that hee fly not; hee is of a hudge quantity, and a ravenous kind as the hawks, and the same qualitie; they doe

give him such sort of meat, in great quantity at once, that hee lives contented therewith 14, 16, or 20 dayes, and some of them a moneth: their feathers are good for garnishing of arrowes, for they receive no raine nor water, but remaine alwayes of a durable estate and uncorruptible; the people doe use them either when they be a hunting, or at warres. In the most of the rivers in Scotland, beside the marvelous plentie of salmond and other fishes gotten there, is a shell fish, called the Horse mussell, of a great quantity, wherein are ingendred innumerable faire, beautifull, and delectable pearles, convenient for the pleasure of man, and profitable for the use of phisicke; and some of them so faire and polished, that they may bee equall to any orientall pearles: and generally, by the providence of Almighty God, when dearth and scarcity of victuals are in the land, then the fishes are most plentifully taken for the support of the people. In Galloway, the one halfe of Loch Mirton doth never freese. By Innernes, the loch called Lochnesse, and the river flowing from thence into the sea, doth never freese; but on the contrarie, in the coldest dayes of winter, the loch and river doe smoke and reeke, signifying unto us, that there is a mine of brimestone under it, of a hote quality. In Carrike are kyne and oxen, delicious to eat, but their fatnesse is of a wonderfull temperature; all other cornes table beasts fatnesse, with the cold ayre doth congeale, by the contrary, the fatnes of these beasts is perpetually liquid, like oyle. The wood and park of Commernauld is replenished with kyne and oxen,

and those at all times, to this day, have beene wild, and of a wonderful whitenesse, that there was never among all the huge number there, so much as the smallest black spot found to be upon one of their skinness, hornes, or cloove. In Kyle is a rock of the height of 12 foote, and as much of bredth, called the Deafe Craig, for although a man should cry never so loud to his fellow, from one side to the other, hee is not heard, although hee would make the noise of a gunne. In the countrie of Stratherne, upon the water of Farge, by Balward, there is a stone, called the Rocking Stone, of a reasonable bignesse, that if a man will push it with the least motion of his finger, it will moove verie lightly, but if hee addresse his whole force, hee profits nothing; which mooves many people to bee wonderful merrie, when they consider such contrariety. In Lennox is a great loch, called Loch-Lowmond, 24 miles in length, and in bredth 8 miles, containing the number of 30 isles. In this loch is observed three wonderfull things, the one is fishes, verie delectable to eat, that have no finns to moove themselves withall, as other fishes doe. The seconde, tempestuous waves and surges of the water perpetually raging, without windes, and that in time of the greatest calmes, in the faire pleasant time of summer, when the ayr is quyet. The third is one of these isles, that is not corroborat, nor united to the ground, but hath beene perpetually loose; and although it bee fertill of good grasse, and replenished with neate, yet it mooves by the waves of

the water, and is transported some times towards one point, and otherwiles towards another.

In Argyle is a stone found in divers parts, the which laid under straw or stubble, doth consume them to fire, by the great heat that it collects thereby. In Buquhan, at the demolished castle of Slanis, is a cave, from the toppe whereof distilles water, which in short time doth congeale to hard white stones. The cave is always emptyed.

In Louthian, two miles from Edinburgh, southward, is a well spring, called St. Katherine's well, flowing perpetually with a kind of black fatnesse or oyle, above the water, proceeding (as is thought,) of the parret coale, being frequent in these parts: this fatnesse is of a marveylous nature, for as the coale whereof it proceeds is sudden to conceive fire or flame, so is this oyle of a sudden operation to heale all salt scabs and humoures that trouble the outward skinne of man: commonly the head and hands are quickly healed by the vertue of this oyle. It renders a marvellous sweet smell. At Abirdine is a well of a marvellous good quality to dissolve the stone, to expell sand from the reynes and bladder, and good for the chollicke, being drunke in the moneth of July, and a few dayes of August; little inferiour to the renowned water of the Spaw in *Almaine*. In the north seas of Scotland are great clogs of timber found, in the which are marvelously ingendred a sort of geese, called clayk geese, and doe hang by the beake till they be of perfection: oft times found, and keept in admiration of their rare generation. At Dunbar-

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Feuds and Conflicts

AMONG

THE CLANS,

IN THE

NORTHERN PARTS OF SCOTLAND,

AND IN THE

WESTERN ISLES.

FROM THE YEAR M.XXXI. UNTO M.DC.XIX.

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TOUCHING

THE DESCRIPTION

OF

SUTHERLAND.

OUR Scottish writers have hitherto erred in descriving the situation of Sutherland; for it hath Caithness toward the east and north-east; Strathnaver toward the north; Assint toward the west; Ross toward the south and south-west; and the German sea toward the south, south-east, and east. Sutherland, in the Irish language, is called Cattey, and the people Cattigh. Cattey did contain sometime all the region lying betwixt Tayne and Dungesby, being divided in the midst by a mountain called Mond, or Ord, which runneth from the south sea to the north sea: and the country which is now called Catteyness, was first so named, as the ness or promontory of Cattey stretching itself eastward from the hill Ord. This is the opinion of one Andrew, Bishop of Catteyness. And in the old English writers, (such as Hoveden, Walsinghame, and others) it is always written Cattey-

ness: so that Boethius faileth in drawing the etymology of Catteyness from Catus (the proper name of a man) and ness; which doubtless proceeded from the ignorance of the Irish language.

CONFLICTS.

The Conflict of Drumilea.

ABOUT the year of God 1031, in the days of Malcolm the second, King of Scotland, the Danes and Norwegians, under the conduct of Olanus and Enetus, seated themselves in the north parts of Scotland, and took the castle of Nerne, where they became very strong; from thence they sent divers companies of soldiers into the neighbouring provinces, not only to prey, but likewise to seat themselves there, as they should find occasion and opportunity. Olanus did then send a strong company to invade the provinces of Ross and Sutherland, and to destroy the inhabitants; which Alane Thane of Sutherland perceiving, he assembled his countrymen, and the inhabitants of Ross, with all diligence; and fought a battle at Creigh in Sutherland, against the Danes and Norwegians, who had then come from Nerne in Murray, and had landed in the river of Portnecouter, which divideth Ross from Sutherland. After a long and doubtful fight, the Danes were overthrown, and chased to their vessels. The monument whereof remains there, unto this day, at a place called Drumiles before Creigh.

The Conflict of Enbo.

ABOUT the year of God 1259 the Danes and Norwegians did land at the ferry of Unes, with a resolution to invade Sutherland and the neighbouring provinces; against whom William Earl of Sutherland made resistance, and encountered with them betwixt the town of Dornoch and the ferry of Unes, at a place called Enbo. After a sharp conflict the Danes are overthrown, their General slain, with many others, and the rest chased to their ships: in memory of which a monument of stone was there erected, which was called Ri-Chroishe, that is, the king, or general, his cross; which, together with divers burials, is there to be seen at this day.

The Conflict of Beallegh-ne-Broig.

ABOUT the year of God 1299 there was an insurrection made against the Earl of Ross by some of the people of that province, inhabiting the mountains, called Clan-Iver, Clan-tall-wigh, and Clan-Leawe. The Earl of Ross made such diligence that he apprehended their captain, and imprisoned him at Dingwall; which so incensed the Highlanders, that they pursued the Earl of Ross's second son at Balnegowen, took him, and carried him along prisoner with them; thinking thereby to get their captain relieved. The Monroes and the Dingwalls, with some others of the Earl of Ross his dependers, gathered their forces, and

pursued the Highlanders with all diligence; so overtaking them at Beallegh-ne-broig, betwixt Ferrin-donell and Lochbrime, there ensued a cruel fight, well foughtin on either side. The Clan-Iver, Clan-tall-wigh, and Clan-Leawe were almost all utterly extinguished; the Monroes had a sorrowful victory, with great loss of their men, and carried back again the Earl of Ross his son. The Laird of Kildun was there slain, with seven score of the surname of Dingwall. Divers of the Monroes were slain in this conflict; and among the rest, there were killed eleven of the house of Foulis, that were to succeed one another; so that the succession of Foulis fell unto a child then lying in his cradle. For which service the Earl of Ross gave divers lands to the Monroes and the Dingwalls.

The Conflict of Clagh-ne-herey.

ABOUT the year of God 1341 John Munro, tutor of Foulis, travelling homeward on his journey from the south of Scotland, towards Ross, did repose himself by the way, in Strathardale, betwixt Saint Johnstoun and Athole, where he fell at variance with the inhabitants of that country, who had abused him; which he determined to revenge afterward. Being come to Ross, he gathered together his whole kinsmen, neighbours, and followers, and declared unto them how he had been used, and craves their aid to revenge himself; whereunto they yield. Thereupon he singled out 350 of the strongest and ablest men among them,

and so went to Strathardale, which he wasted and spoiled; killed some of the people, and carried away their cattle. In his return home (as he was passing by the Isle of Moy with his prey) Macintosh, chieftain of the Clan-Chattane, sent to him to crave a part of the spoil, challenging the same as due to him by custom; John Monro offered Mackintosh a reasonable portion, which he refused to accept, and would have no less than the half of the whole spoil, whereunto John would not yield. So Macintosh conveening his forces with all diligence, he followed John Munro, and overtook him at Claghne-herey, beside Kessak, within one mile of Inverness. John, perceiving them coming, sent 50 of his men to Ferrin-donnel with the spoil, and encouraged the rest of his men to fight. So there ensued a cruel conflict, where Mackintosh was slain with the most part of his company. Divers of the Monroes were also killed, and John Monro left as dead in the field: but after all was appeased, he was taken up by some of the people thereabout, who carried him to their houses, where he recovered of his wounds; and was afterward called John Back-lawighe, because he was mutilate of an hand.

The Conflict of Tuttum-tarwigh.

THE year of God 1406 this conflict was foughtin at Tuttum-tarwigh in the south-west part of Sutherland, as it marches with Ross. Upon this occasion Angus Macky of Strathnaver married Macleod of the Lewis his sister, by whom he had two sons, Angus Dow, and Rory Gald. Angus Macky

dying, he leaves the government of his estate and children to his brother Heucheon Dow Macky. Macleod of the Lewes understanding that his sister, the widow of Angus Macky was hardly dealt withal in Strathnaver by Heucheon Dow, he takes journey thither to visit her, with the choicest men of his country. At his coming there, he finds that she is not well dealt withal; so he returned home malecontent; and, in his way, he spoiled Strathnaver, and a great part of Brea-Chatt in the height of Sutherland. Robert Earl of Sutherland being advertised thereof, he sent Alexander Murray of Cubin, with a company of men, to assist Heucheon Dow in pursuing Macleod, and to recover the prey. They overtake Macleod at Tuttum-tarwigh, as he and his company were going to the west sea, where Alexander Murray and Heucheon Dow invaded them with great courage. The fight was long and furious, rather desperate than resolute. In end they recovered the booty, and killed Macleod with all his company. This conflict gave name to the place where it was foughtin, being then called Tuttum-tarwigh, which signifieth a plentiful fall or slaughter; and is so called unto this day.

The Conflict of Loin-Harpisdell.

THE year of God 1426 Angus Dow Macky, with his son Neill, enters Catteyness with all hostility, and spoiled the same. The inhabitants of Catteyness assembled with all diligence, and fought with Angus Dow Macky at Harpisdell, where there

was great slaughter on either side. Whereupon King James I. came to Inverness, of intention to pursue Angus Dow Macky for that and other such like enormities. Angus Dow, hearing that the King was at Inverness, came and submitted himself to the King's mercy, and gave his son Neill in pledge of his good obedience in time coming. Which submission the King accepted, and sent Neill Macky to remain in captivity in the Bass; who, from thence, was afterward called Neill-Wasse-Macky.

The Conflict of Drum-ne-coub.

THE year of God 1427 Thomas Macky (otherwise Macneill) possessor of the lands of Creigh, Spanzedell and Polrossie in Sutherland, had conceived some displeasure against the laird of Freeshweik, called Mowat, whom Thomas Macneill did eagerly pursue, and killed him near the town of Taine in Ross, within the chappel of St. Duffus, and burnt also that chappel, unto the which this Mowat had retired himself as to a sanctuary. The King hearing of this cruel fact, he causes proclaim and denounce Thomas Macneill rebel, and promised his land to any that would apprehend him. Angus Murray (the son of Alexander Murray of Cubin above mentioned) understanding the King's proclamation, had secret conference with Morgane and Neill Macky, brethren to this Thomas. Angus offered unto them, if they would assist him to apprehend their brother, that he would give them his own two daughters in marriage, and also assist

them to get the peaceable possession of Strathnaver, which they did claim as due to them; and, (as he thought) they might then easily obtain the same, with little or no resistance at all, seeing that Neill-Wasse-Macky (the son of Angus Dow) lay prisoner in the Bass, and Angus Dow himself was unable (by reason of the weakness of his body at that time) to withstand them. Morgane Macky and Neill Macky do condescend and yield to the bargain; and presently thereupon they did apprehend their brother Thomas at Spanzedell in Sutherland, and delivered him to Angus Murray; who presented him to the King, at whose command Thomas Macneill was executed at Inverness; and the lands of Polrossie and Spanzedell, which he did possess, were given to Angus Murray for this service; which lands his successors do possess unto this day. Angus Murray for performance of his promise made to Neill and Morgane Macky, gave them his two daughters in marriage. Then Angus deals with Robert Earl of Sutherland, that he might have his attollerance to conveen some men in Sutherland, therewith to accompany his two sons-in-law to obtain the possession of Strathnaver. Earl Robert grants him his demand; so Angus having gathered a company of resolute men, he went with these two brethren to invade Strathnaver. Angus Dow Macky, hearing of their approach, convened his countrymen; and, because he was unable himself in person to resist them, he made his bastard-son (John Aberigh) leader of his men. They encountered at Drum-ne-coub, two miles from Tong (Macky his chief dwelling-place) there

ensued a cruel and sharp conflict, valiantly foughten a long time, with great slaughter; so that, in the end, there remained but few alive of either side. Neill Macky, Morgane Macky, and their father-in-law (Angus Murray) were there slain. John Aberigh, having lost all his men, was left for dead in the field, and was afterward recovered; yet he was mutilate all the rest of his days. Angus Dow Macky, being brought thither to view the place of the conflict, and searching for the dead corpse of his cousins, Morgane and Neill, was there killed with a shot of an arrow, by a Sutherland-man, that was lurking in a bush hard by, after his fellows had been slain. This John Aberigh was afterward so hardly pursued by the Earl of Sutherland, that he was constrained, for safety of his life, to flie into the isles.

The Scottish histories, in describing this conflict, do mistake the place, the persons, and the fact; and do quite change the whole state of the history. For the person, Angus Dow Macky of Strathnaver, is by some of them called Angus Duff, and by others Angus Duff of Strathern. For the place, they make Angus Duff of Strathern, to come from Strathern (some say from Strathnaver) to Murray and Catteyness, as if these shires did join together. For the fact, they would have Angus Duff to come for a prey of goods out of Catteyness and Murray, which two shires do not march together, having a great arm of the sea interjected betwixt them, called Murray-frith; and having Ross and Sutherland betwixt them by land. But the truth of this

conflict, and the occasion thereof, I have here set down.

The Conflict of Ruoig-hanset.

THE year of God 1437 Neill-Wasse-Macky, after his releasement out of the Bass, entered Catteyness with all hostility, and spoiled all that country. He skirmished with some of the inhabitants of that province, at a place called Sanset, where he overthrew them, with slaughter on either side. This conflict was called Ruoig-hanset, that is, the Chace at Sanset. Shortly thereafter Neill-Wasse died.

The Conflict of Blair-tannie.

ABOUT the year of God 1438 there fell some variance betwixt the Keiths and some others of the inhabitants of Catteyness. The Keiths, mistrusting their own forces, sent to Angus Macky of Strathnaver (the son of Neill-Wasse) intreating him to come to their aid; whereunto he easily yielded: so Angus Macky, accompanied with John Moir-Mackean-reawighe, went into Catteyness with a band of men, and invaded that country. Then did the inhabitants of Catteyness assemble in all haste, and met the Strathnaver-men and the Keiths, at a place in Catteyness called Blair-tannie. There ensued a cruel fight, with slaughter on either side. In end the Keiths had the victory, by the means chiefly of John Moir-Mackean-reawighe (an Assintman) who is very famous in these countries for his manhead shewn at this conflict. Two

chieftains and leaders of the inhabitants of Catteyness were slain, with divers others, This Angus Macky, here mentioned, was afterwards burnt and killed in the church of Tarbot, by the sirname of Ross, whom he had often molested with incursions and invasions.

The Conflict of Blair-ne-pairk.

AFTER that the Lord of the Isles had resigned the earldom of Ross into the King's hands, the year of God 1477, that province was continually vexed and molested with incursions of the Islanders. Gillespick (cousin to Macdonald) gathering a company of men, invaded the height of that country with great hostility; which the inhabitants perceiving (and specially the Clan-Cheinzie) they assembled speedily together, and met the Islanders beside the river of Connan, about two miles from Brayle, where there ensued a sharp and cruel skirmish. The Clan-Cheinzie fought so hardily, and pressed the enemy so, that, in the end, Gillespick Macdonald was overthrown and chased, the most part of his men being either slain, or drowned in the river of Connan: and this was called Blair-ne-pairk. From the ruins of Clan-Donald, and some of the neighbouring Highlanders, began the sirname of Clan-Cheinzie, from small beginnings, to flourish in these bounds: by the ruins also of the Clan-Donald, the house of Argyle and the Campbells became great and potent in the west parts of Scotland.

The Conflicts of Skibo and Strath-fleit.

ABOUT the same time Macdonald of the Isles, accompanied with some of his kinsmen and followers, to the number of 5 or 600, came into Sutherland, and encamped hard by the castle of Skibo; whereupon Neill Murray (son or grandchild to Angus Murray slain at Drum-ne-coub) was sent by John Earl of Sutherland to resist them, in case they did offer any harm unto the inhabitants. Neill Murray perceiving them going about to spoil the country, invaded them hard by Skibo, and killed one of their captains, called Donald Dow, with 50 others. Macdonald, with the rest of his company, escaped by flight, and so retired into their own country.

Shortly thereafter another company of Macdonald his kin and friends came to Strath-fleit in Sutherland, and spoiled that part of the country, thinking thereby to repair the loss they had before received; but Robert Sutherland (John Earl of Sutherland his brother) assembled some men in all haste, and encountered with them upon the sands of Strath-fleit; after a sharp and cruel skirmish, Macdonald his men were overthrown, and divers of them killed.

The Cruner slain by the Keith in the chappel of St. Tayre.

ABOUT the year of God 1478 there was some dissention in Catteyness, betwixt the Keiths and the Clan-Gun. A meeting was appointed for their

reconciliation, at the chappel of St. Tayre in Caithness, hard by Girnigo, with twelve horse on either side. The Cruner (chieftain of the Clan-Gun) with the most part of his sons and chiefest kinsmen came to the chappel, to the number of twelve; and, as they were within the chappel at their prayers, the Laird of Inverugy and Acrigell arrived there with 12 horse, and two men upon every horse; thinking it no breach of trust to come twenty-four men; seeing they had but twelve horses as was appointed. So the twenty-four gentlemen rushed in at the door of the chappel, and invaded the Cruner and his company at unawares; who, nevertheless, made great resistance. In the end, the Clan-Gun were all slain, with the most of these Keiths. Their blood may be seen at this day upon the walls within the chappel of St. Tayre, where they were slain. After William Mackames (the Cruner his grand-child) in revenge of his grandfather, killed George Keith of Acrigell and his son, with ten of their men, at Drummoy in Sutherland, as they were travelling from Inverugye into Catteyness.

The Conflicts of Aldicharrishe.

THE year of God 1487 this conflict was foughten upon this occasion; Angus Macky being slain at Tarbot by the surname of Ross, as I have shewn already, John Reawighe Macky (the son of this Angus) came to the Earl of Sutherland, upon whom he then depended, and desired his aid to revenge his father's death; whereunto the Earl of Sutherland

yeilds, and sent his uncle Robert Sutherland, with a company of men, to assist him. Thereupon Robert Sutherland and John Reawighe Macky did invade Strathoickell and Strath-Charron with fire and sword; burnt, spoiled, and laid waste divers lands appertaining to the Rosses. The Laird of Balnigowne (then chief of the Rosses in that shire) hearing of his invasion, he gathered all the forces of Ross, and met Robert Sutherland and John Reawighe at a place called Aldicharrishe. Their ensued a cruel and furious combat, which continued a long space, with incredible obstinacy; much blood was shed on either side. In end, the inhabitants of Ross, being unable to endure or resist the enemy's forces, were utterly disbanded and put to flight. Alexander Ross, Laird of Balnigowne, was there slain, with seventeen other landed gentlemen of the province of Ross, besides a great number of common soldiers. The manuscript of Ferne (by and attour Balnigowne) nameth these following among those that were slain, Mr. William Ross, Angus Macculloch of Terrell, John Wans, William Wans, John Mitchell, Thomas Wans, Houcheon Wans.

The Skirmish of Daill-reawighe.

THE year of God 1516 Y Roy Macky of Strathnaver dying, there arose civil dissention in Strathnaver, betwixt John Macky (the son of Y Roy) and Neill Na-werighe (the said Y Roy his brother); John Macky excludes his uncle Neill (who was thought to be the righteous heir) and taketh pos-

session of Strathnaver. Neill, again, alledging that his nephews John and Donald were bastards, doth claim these lands, and makes his refuge of John Earl of Catteyness, of whom he did obtain a company of men, who were sent with Neill his four sons to invade Strathnaver. They take the possession of the country from John Macky; who, being unable to resist their forces, retires himself to the Clanchattane to seek their support, and leaves his brother Donald Macky to defend the country as he might. Donald, in his brother John his absence, surprized his cousin-germans under silence of the night at Daill-reawighe, and killed two of his cousins (the sons of Neill Na-werighe) with the most part of their company; whereupon John Macky returned home, and took peaceable possession of the country. Thereafter Neill Na-werighe came and willingly rendered himself to his nephews John and Donald, who caused apprehend their uncle Neill, and behead him at a place called Clash-ne-gep in Strathnaver.

The Conflict of Toran-Dow.

ADAM GORDON, first of that surname Earl of Sutherland, having married Elizabeth Sutherland heretrix of that county, took journey towards Edinburgh, the year of God 1517, to dispatch some affairs there, which did concern the settling of his estate, leaving the commandment of the country, in his absence, to Alexander Sutherland (base brother to his wife Elizabeth) and to John Murray of Aberscors; which John Macky of

Strathnaver understanding (having now appeased his civil discords at home, by the death of his uncle Neill) he takes this occasion, in the very change of surnames in Sutherland, to try if he could gain any thing by spoiling that country; and thereupon assembled together all the forces of Strathnaver, Assint, and Eddirachilis, with all such as he could purchase out of the west and north-west isles of Scotland, he invades the country of Sutherland with all hostility, burning and spoiling all before him. The inhabitants of Sutherland do speedily conveen together with all the parts of the country; and so, under the conduct of Alexander Sutherland, John Murray and William Mackames, they rencounter with John Macky and his company at a place called Torran-dow, beside Rogart in Strath-fleit, where there ensued a fierce and cruel conflict. The Sutherland-men chased John Macky his van-guard, and made them retire to himself where he stood in battle-array; then did he select and chuse a number of the ablest men in all his host, and with these he himself returned again to the conflict; leaving his brother Donald to conduct the rest, and to support him as necessity should require. Whereupon they do begin a more cruel fight than before, well foughten on either side. In end, after long resistance, the Sutherland-men obtained the victory; few of these that came to renew the fight escaped, but only John Macky himself, and that very hardly. Neill Macean-Macangus of Assint was there slain, with divers of his men. There were 216 of the Strathnaver-men left dead in the field, besides those that died in the

chace. There were slain of Sutherland-men 38. Not long thereafter John Macky sent William and Donald, two brethren, with a company of men, to invade John Murray, with whom they met at a place called Loch-Salachie in Sutherland; after a sharp skirmish, both the chieftains of the Strathnaver-men were slain, with divers of their men, and the rest put to flight: neither was the victory pleasing to John Murray, for he lost, there, his brother, called John Roy-Murray. Thus continued the inhabitants of these countries infesting one another with continual spoils, untill the year of God 1522, that Alexander Gordon (Earl Adam his eldest son) overthrew John Macky at Lairg, and forced him to submit himself to Earl Adam; unto whom John Macky gave his band of manred and service, dated the year of God 1522.

The Conflict of Aldine-beh.

DONALD MACKY of Strathnaver (having succeeded his brother John) taketh the occasion upon the death of Adam Earl of Sutherland (who left his grandchild, John, young to succeed him) to molest and invade the inhabitants of Sutherland. He came, the year of God 1542, with a company of men, to the village of Knockartoll, burnt the same, and took a great prey of goods out of Strathbrory. Sir Hugh Kennedy of Griffen-mains dwelt then in Sutherland, having married John Earl of Sutherland's mother, after the death of his father Alexander Master of Sutherland. Sir Hugh Kennedy being advertised of Macky his

coming into Sutherland, he advises with Hutcheon Murray of Aberscors, and with Gilbert Gordon of Garty, what was best to be done. They resolve to fight the enemy; and so having gathered a company of men, they overtook Macky, unawares, beside a place called Aldine-beh, where they invade him suddenly; having passed his spies unseen. After a little skirmish, the Strathnaver-men fled, the booty was rescued, and John Macean-Macangus, one of their chieftains, was slain, with divers of the Strathnaver-men. Donald Macky, nevertheless, plaid the part of a good soldier; for in his flight, he killed, with his own hand, one William Sutherland, who most eagerly pursued him in the chace. The inhabitants of Sutherland and Strathnaver (in regard of Earl John his minority) did thus continually vex one another, untill this Donald Macky was apprehended, and imprisoned in the castle of Foulis in Ross, by commandment of the Queen-Regent and the Governor, where he continued a good while in captivity.

The Conflict of Gar-warie.

THE Queen-Regent having gotten the government of Scotland from the Earl of Arran, she made her progress into the north, and so to Inverness, the year of God 1555. Then was Y Macky (the son of Donald) summoned to compear before the Queen at Inverness, for that he had spoiled and molested the country of Sutherland during Earl John his being in France with the Queen-Regent.

Macky refused to compear; whereupon there was a commission granted to John Earl of Sutherland against him. Earl John invaded Strathnaver in all hostile manner, and besieged the castle of Borwe, the principal fort of that country; which he took by force, and caused hang the captain; then demolished the fort. In end, he beset Y Macky so, on all sides, that he forced him to render himself, and then was delivered by Earl John to Sir Hugh Kennedy, by whom he was convoyed south, and was committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained a long space. Whilst Y Macky staid in captivity, his cousin german, John Moir Macky, took upon him the government of Strathnaver. This John Moir taking the occasion of Earl John his absence in the south of Scotland, he invaded Sutherland with a company of the most resolute men in Strathnaver; they burnt the chappel of St. Ninians in Nawidell, where the inhabitants of the country, upon this sudden tumult, had conveyed some of their goods: so having spoiled that part of the country, they retire homeward. The inhabitants of Sutherland assembled together, and followed in all haste, under the conduct of Mackames, the Terrel of the Doil, and James Macwilliam. They overtook the Strathnaver-men at the foot of the hill called Bin-moir in Berridail, and invaded them beside the water of Gar-warie, where there ensued a cruel conflict, foughten with great obstinacy. The Strathnaver-men were overthrown and chased, above 120 of them were slain, and some drowned in Gar-warie. This is the last conflict that hath

been foughten betwixt Sutherland and Strathnaver.

The burning of the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Catteyness, at Dornogh in Sutherland.

JOHN Earl of Sutherland, together with his lady, being poisoned, the year 1567, his son Alexander (being young) succeeded unto him, whose ward and marriage George Earl of Catteyness had right to, and withal gets the custody of Earl Alexander during the time of his ward; whereat Earl Alexander his most tender friends (and chiefly the Murrays of Sutherland) being grieved, they lay a plot among themselves, to convey Earl Alexander from the Earl of Catteyness; which they effectuate, and deliver him to the Earl of Huntlie, with whom he staid till his ward was expired the year 1573, during which time the Earl of Catteyness kept possession of the land; whereupon divers troubles did ensue. The Earl of Catteyness removed the Murrays of Sutherland from their possessions; which, nevertheless, they endeavoured to keep. Hutcheon Murray with divers of his friends do possess themselves with the town of Dornogh and the adjacent lands, being formerly possessed by them. The Earl of Catteyness sent his son John, Master of Catteyness, with a number of men, to remove the Murrays from Dornogh. Y Macky did also accompany the Master of Catteyness in this journey. Being come to Dornogh, they besiege the Murrays there; who, for the space of some days, issued forth and skir-

mished with the enemy. In end, the Master of Catteyness burnt the town and the cathedral church, which the inhabitants could not longer defend. Yet after the town was lost they kept the castle, the enemy still assaulting them, but in vain, without any success, for the space of a month. Then, by the mediation of some indifferent friends, they surrendered the castle, and gave three pledges, that, within two months, they should depart from Sutherland; which they did, and retired themselves to the Earl of Huntlie, with whom they staid untill the expiring of the Earl Alexander his ward; at which time they recovered their antient possessions. Not theless that the Murrays had retired themselves, as they had promised, yet they were no sooner departed, but the pledges were beheaded. During the time that the Sutherland-men staid with the Earl of Huntlie, they served him in his wars against the Forbesses, and chiefly at Crabstaine, where they did good service against the foot-supply that was sent by the Regent to assist the Forbesses. This burning of Dornogh and of the cathedral church happened the year of God 1570. The next year following (which was 1571) George Earl of Catteyness became jealous of some plots which his eldest son John, Master of Catteyness, and Y Macky of Strathnaver had contrived against him, and thereupon apprehended his son John, whom he imprisoned closely at Girnigo, where he died after seven years captivity. Y Macky perceiving that John Master of Catteyness was imprisoned by his father, he retired home into Strathnaver,

and died within six months thereafter, the same year of God 1571.

The Conflicts of Aldgawne and Leckmeline.

THE year of God 1585 George Earl of Catteyness married the Earl of Huntlie his sister; at which time, by Huntlie's mediation, the Earls of Sutherland and Catteyness were reconciled. It was then concluded among them, that the Clan-Gun should be pursued and invaded by the Earls of Sutherland and Catteyness, because they were judged to be the chief authors of the troubles which were then like to ensue; and to this effect it was resolved that two companies of men should be sent by the Earls of Sutherland and Catteyness against such of the Clan-Gun as dwelt in Catteyness, thereby to compass them, that no place of retreat might be left unto them: which was done. The Earl of Sutherland his Company was conducted by John Gordon of Backies and James Macrorie; the Earl of Catteyness his Company was conducted by his cousin Henry Sinclair, a resolute gentleman. It fortuned that Henry Sinclair and his company rencountered first with the Clan-Gun, who were now assembled together at a hill called Bingrime, and with them was William Macky, (brother to Hutcheon Macky of Strathnaver, and nephew to this Henry Sinclair that led the Catteyness-men) who was accompanied with some Strathnaver-men. Now were the Clan-Gun advertised of this preparation made against them; and no sooner were they in sight of one another, but they

prepared both for the fight, which was begun without fear or delay on either side. The Clan-Gun although inferior in number, yet had they the advantage of the hill; by reason of which the Catteyness-men came short with their first flight of arrows: by the contrary, the Clan-Gun spared their shot untill they came hard by the enemy, which then they bestowed among them with great advantage. Then ensued a sharp conflict, at a place called Aldgawne, where Henry Sinclair was slain with 120 of his company, and the rest chased and put to flight, who had all been destroyed, had not the darkness of the night favoured their flight. Which coming to the ears of John Gordon, James Macrorie, and Neil Macean-Macwilliam, who had the conduct of the Earl of Sutherland his men, they pursued the Clan-Gun, and followed them to Lough-Broom, in the height of Ross, whither they had fled; and there, meeting with them, they invade them at a place called Leckmeline. After a sharp skirmish, the Clan-Gun were overthrown and chased, 32 of them slain, and their captain, George, wounded and taken prisoner, whom they carry along with them unto Dunrobin, and there they deliver him unto Alexander Earl of Sutherland. This happened in the year of God 1586.

Troubles in the West Isles the year 1586.

THIS commotion in the Western Isles of Scotland did arise, at this time, betwixt the Clan-Donald and Clan-Lean, upon this occasion. Donald

Gorme Macdonald of Sleat, travelling from the isle of Sky, to visit his cousin Angus Macconald of Kintyre, landed with his company in an island called Juray or Duray, which partly appertaineth to Maclean, partly to Angus Macconnald; and by chance he landed in that part of the island which appertaineth to Maclean, being driven in thither by contrary winds; where they were no sooner on shore, but two outlaws, Macconnald Tearreagh and Hutcheon Macgillespick, (who were lately fallen out with Donald Gorme) arrived also with a company of men; and understanding that Donald Gorme was there, they secretly took away, by night, a number of cattle out of that part of the island which appertaineth to Maclean, and so they retire again to the sea; thereby thinking to raise a tumult against Donald Gorme, by making the Clan-Lean to believe that this was done by Donald Gorme his men, who lying at a place called Inver-knock-wrick, were suddenly invaded unawares, under silence of the night (neither suspecting nor expecting any such matter) by Sir Lauchlan Maclean and his kin, the Clan-Lean, who had assembled their whole forces against him. Maclean and his people killed, that night, above 60 of the Clan-Donald; Donald Gorme himself with the residue escaped, by going to keep in a ship that lay in the harbour. Angus Macconald of Kintyre hearing of this lamentable accident fallen out betwixt his brother-in-law Maclean (whose sister he had married) and his cousin Donald Gorme, he taketh journey into the Sky to visit Donald Gorme, and to see by what means he

could work a reconciliation betwixt him and Maclean for the slaughter of Donald Gorme his men at Inver-knock-wrick. After Angus had remained a while in the Sky with his cousin, he taketh journey homeward into Kintyre; and in his return he landed in the isle of Mull, and went to Duart (Maclean his chief dwelling place in Mull) against the opinion of his two brethren Coll and Renald, and of his Cousin Renald Maccoll, who all persuaded Angus to the contrary; desiring him to send for Maclean, and so, to declare unto him how he had sped with his cousin Donald Gorme, and how far he was inclined to a reconciliation; but Angus trusted so much in his brother-in-law Sir Lauchlan Maclean, that he would not hearken unto their counsel; whereupon his two brothers left him, but his cousin Renald Macconald accompanied him to Duart, where Angus at first was welcomed with great show of kindness; but he with all his compay were taken prisoners by Sir Lauchlan Maclean the next day after their arrival, Renald Maccoll escaping, and that very hardly. Angus was there detained in captivity, untill he did renounce his right and title to the Kinnes of Ila, which properly appertained to the Clan-Donald, and had been by them given in possession for their personal service. Angus was forced to yield, or there to end his days, and for performance of what was desired, Angus gave his eldest son James, and his brother Renald, as pledges, to remain at Duart, untill Maclean should get the title of the Kinnes of Ila made over unto

him: and so, the pledges being delivered, Angus had his liberty.

Angus Macconald receiving the wrong at Maclean his hand, besides that which his cousin Donald Gorme had before received at Inver-knockwrick, he went about, by all means to revenge the same; and the better to bring this purposed revenge to pass, he useth a policy by a kind of invitation, which was thus; Maclean having gotten the two pledges into his possession, he taketh journey into Ila, to get the performance of what was promised unto him, leaving Renald, one of the pledges, fettered in prison at his house of Duart in Mull, and carrying his nephew James (the son of Angus and the other pledge) along with him in his voyage. Being arrived in the isle of Ila, he encamped at Ellan-loch-gorme, a ruinous fort lying upon the Kinnes of Ila. Thereupon Angus Macconald took occasion to invite Maclean to come to Mulintrea, or Mulndrhea (a dwelling place which Angus had well furnished in the isle of Ila) seeing he was better provided of all kind of provision there, than Maclean could be; earnestly intreating him to lye at his house, where he should be as welcome as he could make him; that they should make merry so long as his provision could last, and when that was done, he would go with him. For this custom the islanders have, that when one is invited to another's house, they never depart so long as any provision doth last; and when that is done, they go to the next, and so from one to one, untill they make a round from neighbour to neighbour, still carrying the

master of the former family with them to the next house: [moreover, all the islanders are of nature very suspicious, full of deceit and evil intention against their neighbours, by whatsomever way they may get them destroyed; besides this, they are so cruel in taking revenge, that neither have they regard to person, time, age, nor cause, as you may partly see in this particular.*] Sir Lauchlan Maclean his answer to Angus Macconald his messenger was, that he durst not adventure to go unto him, for mistrust. Angus then replied, that he needed not to mistrust, seeing he had his son and his brother pledges already, whom his friends might keep in their custody untill his return; and that for his own part, he did intend nothing against him, but to continue in all brotherly love and affection towards him. Maclean hearing this seemed to be void of all suspicion; and so resolves to go unto Angus his house; he carried with him James Macconald the pledge (his own nephew, and the son of Angus) whom he kept always in his custody, thereby to save himself from danger, if any injury should be offered unto him. He came to Mullintrea, accompanied

* REMARK BY THE PRINTERS.

We are no friends to such general reflections; they are, we think, too commonly dictated by prejudice of one kind or other; seldom founded on genuine knowledge, or proper information. Nothing but the fidelity we owe to the public, by which we are bound to exhibit, from the press, the MS. exactly as we find it, could have induced us to print this reflection.

with 86 of his kinsfolk and servants in the month of July 1586, where, at their first arrival, they were made welcome with all courtesy, and sumptuously banquetted all that day; but Angus, in the meantime, had premonished all his friends and welwishers within Ila to be at his house the same night at nine of the clock; for he had concluded with himself to kill them all, the very first night of their arrival, and still concealed his purpose, untill he found the time commodious, and the place proper. So Maclean being lodged with all his men in a long house that was somewhat distant from other houses, took to be with him his nephew James, the pledge before-mentioned, with whom he never parted: but within an hour thereafter, when Angus had assembled his men, to the number of 3 or 400, he placed them all, in order, about the house where Maclean then lay. Angus himself came and called upon Maclean at the door, offering him his reposing drink, which was forgotten to be given him before he went to bed. Maclean answered that he desired none for that time. Although (said Angus) it be so, yet it is my will that thou arise and come forth to receive it. Then began Maclean to suspect, and so did arise, with his nephew James betwixt his shoulders; thinking, that if present killing was intended against him, he would save himself, so long as he could, by the boy. The boy, seeing his father with a bare sword, and a number of his men in like manner about him, cried, with a loud voice, for mercy to his uncle; which was granted, and Maclean immediately removed to a secret chamber till the

next morning. Then called Angus to the remanent within, so many as would have their own lives to be saved, that they should come forth (Macconald Tearreagh, and another whom he named, only excepted;) obedience was made by all the rest, and these two only fearing the danger, refused to come forth: which Angus perceiving, he commanded incontinent to put fire to the house; which was done, so that the two men were pitifully burnt to death. This Macconald was the author of these troubles, the other was a very near kinsman to Maclean, and of the eldest of his sirname, renowned both for counsel and manhood.

After that the report of Maclean his taking came to the isle of Mull, Allan Maclean, and some others of the Maclean, caused a rumour to be spread in Ila, that Renald (the brother of Angus Macconald and the other pledge which he had given to Maclean) was slain at Duart in Mull, by Maclean his friends; which false report was raised by Allan Maclean, that thereby Angus Macconald might be moved to kill his prisoner Sir Lauchlan Maclean, and so Allan himself might succeed to Sir Lauchlan; and indeed it wrought this effect, that how soon the report came to Angus his ears, that his brother Renald was slain, he revenged himself fully upon the prisoners; for Maclean his followers were by couples beheaded the days following, by Coll the brother of Angus. The report of this fact at Mullintrea was carried to the Earl of Argyle, who immediately assembled his friends, to get Maclean out of Angus his power; but perceiving that they were not able to

do it, either by force or fair means, they thought necessary to complain to the King. His Majesty directed charges to Angus, by a herald of arms, commanding him to restore Maclean into the hands of the Earl of Argyle; but the messenger was interrupted, and the haven port stopped where he should have taken shipping towards Ila, and so returned home; yet, with exceeding travel made by Captain James Stewart, Chancellor of Scotland, and many strait conditions granted by Maclean unto Angus, Maclean was at last exchanged for Renald the brother of Angus, and pledge beforementioned; and for performance of such conditions as Maclean did promise to Angus, at his delivery, he gave his own son, and the son of Macleod of Herris, with divers other pledges to Angus Macconald, who thereupon went into Ireland upon some occasion of business; which Maclean understanding, he invaded the isle of Ila, and burnt a great part of the same, regarding neither the safety of the pledges, nor his faith given before the friends at his delivery. Angus Macconald, returning out of Ireland, did not stir the pledges, who were innocent of what was done unto his lands in his absence; yet, with a great preparation of men and shipping, he went into the islands, and Tirhie appertaining to Maclean, invading these places with great hostility; where, what by fire, what by sword, and what by water, he destroyed all the men that he could overtake (none excepted) and all sort of beasts that served for domestical use and pleasure of man; and finally, came to the very Bin-moir in Mull, and there killed and

chased the Clan-Lean at his pleasure, and so, fully revenged himself of his former injuries. Whilst Angus Macconald was thus raging in Mull and Tirhie, Sir Lauchlan Maclean went into Kintyre, spoiled, wasted, and burnt a great part of that country; and thus, for a while, they did continually vex one another with slaughters and outrages, to the destruction, well near, of all their country and people. In this mean time Sir Lauchlan Maclean did intyce and train John Macean of Ardemurchie (one of the Clan-Donald) to come unto him unto the isle of Mull, promising him that he would give him his mother in marriage, unto whom the said John Macean had been a suitor. John being come unto Mull, in hope of this marriage, Maclean yielded to his desire, thinking thereby to draw John Macean unto his party against Angus Macconald. The marriage was celebrated at Torloiske in Mull; but the same very night John Macean his chamber was forced, himself taken from his bed out of Maclean his mother's arms, and eighteen of his men slain, because he refused to assist Maclean against Angus Macconald. These were (and are to this day) called, in a proverb, *Maclean his Nuptials.* John Macean was detained a whole year in captivity by Maclean; and, at last, was released in exchange of Maclean his son and the rest of the pledges which Angus Macconald had in his hands. These two islanders, Angus Macconald and Maclean, were afterwards written for by the King, and trained into Edinburgh, the year of God 1591, with promise safely to pass and repass unhurt or molested in their bodies or goods,

and were committed both to ward within the Castle of Edinburgh, where they remained not long when they were remitted free, to pass home again, for a pecunial fine, and a remission granted to either of them. Their eldest sons were left as pledges for their obedience in time coming.

The Troubles betwixt Sutherland and Catteyness, the years 1587, 1588, 1589, *and* 1590.

THE year of God 1587 there happened some dissension betwixt the earls of Sutherland and Catteyness upon this occasion. George Gordon of Marle in Sutherland (base son to Gilbert Gordon of Gartie) had done divers contempts and indignities to the Earl of Catteyness and his servants, occasioned through the nearness of George Gordon his dwelling place, which bordered upon Catteyness. These insolencies of George Gordon's, the earl of Catteyness could not or would not endure; and so, assembling a company of men, horse and foot, he comes, under silence of the night, and invades George Gordon in his own house at Marle. George makes all the resistance he could; and, as they were eagerly pursuing the house, he slays a special gentleman of Catteyness, called John Sutherland; therewith he issued out of the house, and casts himself into the river of Helmisdel, which was hard by, thinking to save himself by swimming; but he was shot with arrows, and slain in the water. This happened in the month of February 1587.

Alexander Earl of Sutherland took the slaughter of George Gordon in evil part, which he deter-

mined to revenge, and thereupon dealt with such of his friends as had credit at court for the time; by whose means he obtained a commission against the slayers of George Gordon; which being gotten, he sent 200 men unto Catteyness in February 1588, conducted by John Gordon of Golspitour and John Gordon of Backies, who invaded the paroches of Dumbaith and Lathron in Catteyness, with all hostility, spoiling and burning the same; they killed John James-son, a gentleman of Catteyness, with some others; and this was called Creach-lairn.

No sooner were they returned out of Dumbaith, but earl Alexander, being accompanied with Hutcheon Macky (who had been then lately reconciled to his superior the earl of Sutherland) entered into Catteyness with all his forces, spoiling all before him till he came to Girnigo, (now called Castle-Sinclair) where the earl of Catteyness then lay. Earl Alexander escaped himself hard by the town of Weik, which is within a mile of Girnigo. They took the town of Weik with little difficulty, and burnt the same. They besieged the castle of Girnigo for the space of twelve days, which was well defended by the earl of Catteyness and those that were within. Earl Alexander perceiving that the castle could not be obtained without a long siege, he sent his men abroad through the country of Catteyness to pursue such as had been at the slaughter of George Gordon, if they could be apprehended: so, having slain divers of them, and spoiled the country, earl Alexander returns again with his host into Sutherland in the month of Fe-

bruary 1588. And this was called La-ne-creigh-moir.

The earl of Catteyness, to revenge these injuries and to requit his losses, assembled all his forces in the year of God 1589, and sent them into Sutherland, under the conduct of his brother the laird of Murckle, who entered Sutherland with all hostility, and coming to Strath-ullie, he slays three tenants of the earl of Sutherland's in Liriboll, burning the house above them; from Liriboll they march farther into the country. The inhabitants of Sutherland, being conducted by Hutcheon Macky and John Gordon of Backies, met with the Catteyness-men at a place called Crissaligh, where they skirmished a little while with little or no slaughter on either side; and so Murckle retired home into Catteyness. In exchange hereof, Alexander earl of Sutherland sent 300 men into Catteyness, conducted by John Gordon of Backies, the same year of God 1589, who entered that country with all hostility, he spoiled and wasted the same till he came within six miles of Girnigo, killed above thirty men, and returned home with a great booty. This was called Creagh-ne-kainkish.

The earl of Catteyness, to repair his former losses, conveened his whole forces the year of God 1590. He entered into Sutherland with all hostility, and encamped beside the Backies; having stayed one night there, they returned homeward the next day, driving a prey of goods before the host. By this time some of the inhabitants of Sutherland were assembled, to the number of 5 or

400 only, and perceiving the Catteyness-men upon the sands of Clen-trednal, they presently invade them at a place called Clyne. There ensued a sharp conflict, foughten with great obstinacy on either side, till the night parted them. Of the Sutherland-men there were slain John Murray and sixteen common soldiers. Of the Catteyness-men there were killed Nicholas Sutherland (the laird of Forsse his brother) and Angus Mactormot, with thirteen others. Divers were hurt on either side.

The next morning timely, the earl of Catteyness returned with all diligence into Catteyness, for to defend his own country; for whilst he was in Sutherland, Hutcheon Macky had entered with his forces into Catteyness, and had spoiled that country even to the town of Thurso: but before the earl of Catteyness could overtake him, he returned again into Strathnaver with a great booty.

Thus they infested one another with continual spoils and slaughters, untill they were reconciled by the mediation of the earl of Huntley, who caused them meet at Strathbogie; and a final peace was concluded there, betwixt these parties, in the month of March 1591. Here ends this book of Sutherland.

The Troubles betwixt the Earls of Huntlie and Murray.

THE instruments of this trouble were the laird of Grant and Sir John Campbell of Calder, knight. The Knight of Calder had spent the most part of

his time in court, where he was very familiar with Chancellor Maitland, from whom he received instructions to engender differences betwixt Huntlie and Murray; which commission he accomplished very learnedly, and inflamed the one against the other, by the laird of Grant his means, thus, James Gordon (eldest son to Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir) accompanied with some of his friends, went to Ballendallegh in Strathspey, to assist his aunt, the widow of that place, against John Grant, tutor of Ballendallegh, who went about to do her son injury, and to detain her rents from her. James Gordon coming thither, all was restored unto the widow, a small matter excepted; which, notwithstanding, he would have from the tutor, thinking it a disgrace to him and to his family if his aunt should lose the least part of her due. After some contestation, there was beating of servants on either side; and, being put asunder at that time, James Gordon and his company retired home. Hereupon the family of Lesmoir do persuade John Gordon (brother to Sir Thomas Gordon of Clunie) to marry the widow of Ballendallegh, which he did. The tutor of Ballendallegh grudging that any of the sirname of Gordon should dwell among them, he fell at variance with John Gordon, by the laird of Grant his persuasion, and killed one of John Gordon his servants; whereat John Gordon was so incensed, and pursued so eagerly the tutor, and such of the Grants as would assist, harbour, or maintain him or his servants, that he got them outlawed, and made rebels by the laws of the kingdom: and further, he moved his chief the

earl of Huntlie to search and follow them, by virtue of a commission, as sheriff of that shire. Huntlie besieges the house of Ballendallegh, and takes it by force the 2d day of November 1590; but the tutor escaped. Then began Calder and Grant to work their premeditated plot, and do stir up the Clan-Chattan and their chief Macintosh to join with the Grants; they persuade also the earls of Athole and Murray to assist them against Huntlie. They shew the Earl of Murray that how he had a fit opportunity and occasion to make himself strong in these north parts, and to make head against the house of Huntlie; that they and all their friends would assist him to the uttermost of their power; that Chancellor Maitland would work at court to their effect against Huntlie; so that now he should not slip this occasion, least afterward he should never have the like opportunity in his time. Hereupon the earls of Murray and Athole, the Dunbars, the Clan-Chattan, the Grants, and the laird of Calder, with all their faction, met at Forress, to consult of their affairs, where they were all sworn in one league together, some of the Dunbars refusing to join with them. Huntlie understanding that the earls of Murray and Athole did intend to make a faction against him, he assembled his friends with all diligence, and rides to Forress, with a resolution to dissolve their convention. Murray and Athole, hearing of Huntlie's coming towards them, they leave Forress, and flie to Tarnoway, the earl of Murray's chief dwelling place. The earl of Huntlie follows them thither; but, before his

coming, the earl of Athole, the lairds of Mackintosh, Grant, Calder, and the sheriff of Murray, had left the house, and were fled to the mountains; only the earl of Murray staid, and had before provided all things necessary for his defence. Huntlie coming within sight of the house, he sent John Gordon before-mentioned, with some men, to view the same: but John approaching more hardily than warily, was shot from the house, and slain with a piece, by one of the earl of Murray's servants. Huntlie perceiving the house of Tarnoway furnished with all things necessary for a long siege, and understanding also that the most part of his enemies were fled to the mountains, he left the house and dissolved his company the 24th of November 1590. The earl of Huntlie thereupon hastens to the court; and doth reconcile himself to Chancellor Maitland, who shortly thereafter (not so much for the favour he bore to Huntlie, as for the hatred he had conceived against the earl of Murray for Bothwell his cause) did purchase a commission to Huntlie against the earl of Murray, caring little, in the mean time, what should become either of Murray or Huntlie. The year of God 1591, Huntlie sent Allan Macdonell-Duy into Badenoch against the Clan-Chattan; after a sharp skirmish the Clan-Chattan were chased, and above fifty of them slain. Then Huntlie sent Macronald against the Grants, whom Macronald invaded in Strathspey, killed eighteen of them, and wasted all Ballendallegh his lands. The year of God 1591, the 27th of December, the first raid of the Abbay was interprised by the earl of Bothwell; but failing

of his purpose, he was forced to flie away, and so escaped. The duke of Lennox and the earl of Huntlie were sent into the west with a commission against Bothwell and such as did harbour him; but Bothwell escaped before their coming. Then took the earl of Murray his fatal and last journey from Tarnoway south to Dunibrissil, where he did harbour and recept the earl of Bothwell. Huntlie being now at court, which then sojourned at Edinburgh, he urges Chancellor Maitland for his commission against the earl of Murray; and, having obtained the same, he takes journey with forty gentlemen from Edinburgh to the Queensferry, and from thence to Dunibrissil, where he invades the earl of Murray. Huntlie, before his approach to the house, sent captain John Gordon (brother to William Gordon laird of Geight) to desire the earl of Murray to give over the house and to render himself; which was not only refused, but also captain John Gordon was deadly hurt by a piece, by one of the earl of Murray his servants, at his very first approach to the gates: whereupon they set fire in the house, and force the entry. Huntlie commanded the earl of Murray to be taken alive; but the laird of Cluny, whose brother was slain at Tarnoway, and the laird of Geight, who had his brother lying deadly wounded before his eyes, overtaking Murray, as he was escaped out of the house, killed him among the rocks upon the sea side. There was also the sheriff of Murray slain by Innes of Innermarkie, which happened the 7th day of February 1591. Presently hereopun Huntlie returned into the north, and left

captain John Gordon at Innerkeithing, untill he were recovered of his wound, where he was taken by the earl of Murray's friends and executed at Edinburgh, being scarce able to live one day longer for his wound received at Dunibrissil. Sir John Campbell of Calder, knight, who was the worker and cause of thir troubles, and of the miseries that ensued thereupon, was afterward pitifully slain by his own sirname in Argyle.

The earl of Huntlie was charged by the lord St. Colme (the late slain earl of Murray his brother) to underly the censure of the law for the slaughter at Dunibrissil. Huntlie compeared at Edinburgh at the day appointed, being ready to abide the trial of an assize; and unto such time as his peers were assembled to that effect, he did offer to remain in ward in any place the King would appoint him: whereupon he was warded in the Blackness the 12th day of March 1591, and was released the 20th day of the same month, upon security and caution given by him that he should enter again upon six days warning, whensoever he should be charged to that effect.

After the earl of Murray his slaughter at Dunibrissil, the Clan-Chattan (who, of all that faction, most eagerly endeavoured to revenge his death) did assemble their forces under the conduct of Angus Macdonald-Williamson, and came to Strathdisse and Glenmuck, where they spoiled and invaded the earl of Huntlie's lands, and killed four gentlemen of the sirname of Gordon, among whom was the old baron of Breaghly, whose death and manner thereof was much lamented, being very

aged, and much given to hospitality. He was slain by them in his own house, after he had made them good chear and welcome, never suspecting them, or expecting any such reward for his kindly entertainment, which happened the 1st day of November 1592. In revenge whereof, the earl of Huntlie, having gotten a commission against them, assembled his power and raid into Pettie (which was then in the possession of the Clan-Chattan) where he wasted and spoiled all the Clan-Chattan's lands, and killed divers of them; but as the earl of Huntlie had returned home from Pettie, he was advertised that William Macintosh with 800 of Clan-Chattan were spoiling his lands of Cabereghe; whereupon Huntlie and his uncle Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindowne, with some few horsemen, made speed towards the enemy, desiring the rest of his company to follow him with all possible diligence, knowing that if once he were within sight of them, they would desist from spoiling the country. Huntlie overtook the Clan-Chattan before they left the bounds of Cabereghe, upon the head of a hill called Steplegate; where, without staying for the rest of his men, he invaded them with these few he then had; after a sharp conflict he overthrew them, chased them, killed 60 of their ablest men, and hurt William Macintosh with divers others of his company.

Shortly afterward, the earl of Huntlie conveened his forces, and went the second time into Pettie, causing Alexander Gordon of Abergeldie, Huntlie's baillie in Badenoch, for the time, bring down his Highlandmen of Lochaber, Badenoch and Strath-

downe, to meet him at Inverness; desiring him also, in his journey towards Inverness, to direct some men of Macrenalds into Strathspey and Badenoch, to spoil and waste the laird of Grant and Macintosh's lands; which was done, and afterward Abergeldie and Macrenald, with the Highlandmen, met Huntlie at Inverness, from whence (joining altogether) they invade Pettie, where they wasted, burnt, and spoiled all the rebels lands and possessions, killed a number of them, and then returned home into their countries.

Whilst the north of Scotland was thus in a combustion, the Spanish Blanks were discovered, and Mr. George Car, doctor of the laws, was apprehended in the isle of Cumray, and brought back to Edinburgh, 1592. Afterward, the year of God 1594, the Popish earls, Angus, Huntlie, and Erroll, were, at the earnest suit of the Queen of England's ambassador, forfeited at a parliament held at Edinburgh the penult of May 1594. Then was the King moved to make the earl of Argyle his Majesty's lieutenant in the north of Scotland, to invade the earls of Huntlie and Erroll. Argyle being glad of this employment (having received money from the Queen of England for this purpose) makes great preparation for the journey; and addresses himself quickly forward; thinking, thereby, to have a good occasion to revenge his brother-in-law the earl of Murray's death: so, on he went, with full assurance of a certain victory, accompanied with the earl of Tullibairne, Sir Lauchlan Maclean and divers islanders, Macintosh, Grant, and Clan-Gregor, Macneill-Warray,

with all their friends and dependers, together with the whole sirname of Campbell, with sundry others, whom either greediness of prey, or malice against the Gordons, had thrust on forward in that expedition, in all above 10,000 men. And, coming through all the mountainous countries of that part of Scotland, they arrived at Riven of Badenoch, the 27th of September, the year 1594, which house they besieged, because it appertained to Huntlie: but it was so well defended by the Clan-Phersone (Huntlie's servants) that Argyle was forced to give over the siege, and to address himself towards the Lowlands; where the lord Forbes with his kin, the Frasers, the Dunbars, the Clan-Chenzie, the Irvines, the Ogilbies, the Leslies, the Monroes, and divers other sirnames of the north, should have met him as the King his lieutenant, and so join with his forces against Huntlie.

Argyle came thus forward to Drummin in Strathdown, and encamped hard thereby, the 2d of October. Huntlie and Erroll hearing of this great preparation made against them, they laiked neither courage nor resolution; they assemble all such as would follow them and their fortune in this extremity. Erroll came unto the earl of Huntlie to Strathbogie with 100 or 120 of resolute gentlemen; and so having there joined with Huntlie's forces, they march forward from thence to Carneborrow, and then to Auchindowne, with 1500 horsemen, the 3d of October; parting from Auchindown, Huntlie sent captain Thomas Car and some of the family of Tillihoudie, Gordon, to spy the fields and view the enemy. These gentlemen

meeting, by chance, with Argyle his spies, they killed them all except one, whom they saved and examined, and by him understood that Argyle was at hand. This accident much encouraged the earl of Huntlie's men, taking this as a presage of an ensuing victory; whereupon Huntlie and Erroll do resolve to fight with Argyle before he should join with the lord Forbes and the rest of his forces; so they march towards the enemy, who, by this time, was at Glenlivat in the mountains of Strathawen.

The earl of Argyle understanding that Huntlie was at hand, who (as he believed) durst not shew his countenance against such an army, he was somewhat astonished, and would gladly have delayed the battle untill he had met with the lord Forbes; but perceiving them to draw near, and trusting to his great number, he began to order his battle, and to encourage his people with the hope of prey, and the enemy's small forces to resist them. He gave the commandment and leading of his vanguard to Sir Lauchlan Maclean and to Auchinbreck, which did consist of 4000 men, whereof 2000 men were hagbutters. Argyle himself and Tullibairne followed with all the rest of the army. The earl of Erroll and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindowne, accompanied with the laird of Geight, Bonietoun Wood and captain Car, led the earl of Huntlie's vanguard, which consisted of 300 gentlemen, Huntlie followed them with the rest of his company, having the laird of Cluny Gordon upon his right hand, and Abergeldie upon the left hand: and as he began to march

forward, he encouraged his men, shewing them that there was no remedy, but either to obtain the victory, or to die with their weapons in their hands, in defence of whatsoever they held dearest in this world. Argyle his army being all footmen, and assailed, had the advantage of the ground; for they were arrayed in battle upon the top of a steep, rough, and craggy mountain, at the descent whereof the ground was foggy, mossy, and full of peit-pots, exceeding dangerous for horse. Huntlie his forces consisted all in horsemen, and were constrained to ride first through the mossy ground at the foot of the hill, and then to ride up against that heathy rough mountain, to pursue the enemy, who did, there, attend them. Before that Erroll and Auchindowne gave the first charge, Huntlie caused captain Andrew Gray (now colonel of the English and Scottish in Bohemia) shoot three field-pieces of ordnance at the enemy, which bred a confused tumult among them, by the slaughter of Macneil-warray, an islander, and one of the most valiant men of that party. Huntlie his vanguard, seeing the enemy disordered, presently gave the charge; the earl of Erroll, with the most part of the vanguard turned their sides towards the enemy, and so went a little about, directly towards Argyle, leaving Maclean and the vanguard upon their left hand, being forced thereto by the steepness of the hill, and the thick shot of the enemy; but Auchindowne, with the rest of his company, did gallop up against the hill towards Maclean; so that Auchindowne himself was the first man that invaded the enemy, and the first that was slain by them, having

lost himself by his too much forwardness. The fight was cruel and furious for a while. Auchindowne his servants and followers, perceiving their master fall, raged among their enemies, as if they had resolved to revenge his death, and to accompany him in dying. Maclean again playing the part of a good commander, compassed Huntlie his vanguard, and enclosed them betwixt him and Argyle; having engaged themselves so far that now there was no hope of retreat; so that they were in danger to be all cut in pieces, if Huntlie had not come speedily to their support, where he was in great danger of his life, his horse being slain under him; but being presently horsed again by Invermarkie, he rushed in among the enemies Thus the battle was again renewed with great fury, and continued two hours. In end, Argyle with his main battle began to decline, and then to flie a-pace, leaving Maclean still fighting in the field; who seeing himself thus destitute of succours, and his men either fled or slain, he retired in good order with the small company he had about him, and saved himself by flight; having behaved himself in the battle, not only like a good commander, but also like a valiant soldier. Huntlie and his horsemen followed the chace beyond the brook of Aldchonlihan, killing the enemies till the steepness of the next mountains did stay them, being inaccessible for horsemen. Argyle his ensign was found in the place of battle, and brought back with them to Strathbogie. The earl of Argyle lost in this battle his two cousins, Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, and his brother James Campbell, with divers of Auchinbreck his

friends, Macneill-warray, and 700 common soldiers. Neither was the victory very pleasing to the earl of Huntlie, for besides that the earl of Erroll, the laird of Geight, and the most part of all his company were hurt and wounded, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindowne, his uncle, a wise, valiant, and resolute knight, with 14 others, were there slain. All their hurt men were carried that night to Auchindowne, where most part of them staid untill they were recovered. This battle was foughten on Thursday the 3d day of October 1594.

The lord Forbes, the lairds of Buquhan and Drum assembled all their friends and followers, with intention to join with Argyle; but hearing of his overthrow, they conclude to join with the Dunbars, and the rest of the forces coming from the provinces of Murray and Ross, and so to invade the Gordons when they came from the battle, thinking it now an easy matter to overthrow them, and to revenge old quarrels. To this effect the whole sirname of Forbes, with the most part of the Leslies and the Irvines, met at Druminour (the lord Forbes his dwelling) and so went on, thinking to overtake Argyle, and to cause him return and renew the battle against the Gordons and their partakers; but as they marched forward, a gentleman called Irvine was killed with the shot of a pistol in the dark of the night, hard by the lord Forbes, the author of which shot was never yet known unto this day; for presently all their pistols were searched and found to be full. This unexpected accident bred such a confusion

and amazement in the minds of the Forbeses and their followers, being now all afraid of one another, that they dissolved their companies and returned home. The rest of the clans in the north, such as the Dunbars, the Frasers, the Monroes, and the Clan-Chenzie, being conveened at Forbes in Murray, were staid by the policy of Dunbar of Munesse, who then was tutor to the sheriff of Murray, and favoured the earl of Huntlie, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindowne having married his mother.

Whilst the earl of Argyle was thus employed against Huntlie, the King came to Dundee, where he expected the issue of that battle; which when he had heard, his Majesty took journey north toward Strathbogie. In this voyage his Majesty, by the instigation of Huntlie and Erroll's greatest enemies, permitted (though unwillingly) divers houses to be thrown down, such as the house of Strathbogie, which appertained to Huntlie, the house of Slains, in Buchan, appertaining to the earl of Errol, the house of Culsamond, in Garioch, appertaining to the laird of Newtoun Gordon, the house of Bagayes, in Angus, appertaining to Sir Walter Lindsay, and the house of Craig in Angus, appertaining to Sir John Ogilvie, son to the lord Ogilvie. In this mean time that the King was at Strathbogie, the earl of Huntlie, with divers of his friends, went into Sutherland and Catteyness; and when his Majesty returned into Edinburgh, Huntlie left the kingdom, and travelled through Germany, France, and Flanders; having staid abroad one year and five months, he was recalled again by

the King; and, at his return, both he, Angus and Erroll were again restored to their former honours and dignities, at a parliament held in Edinburgh, in November 1597; and further, his Majesty honoured the earl of Huntlie with the honour of Marquis, the year 1599. All quarrels betwixt him and the earls of Argyle and Murray were taken away, by the marriage of Argyle his eldest daughter to George lord Gordon, Huntlie his eldest son, and by the marriage of lady Anne Gordon, Huntlie's daughter, to James earl of Murray, son to him that was slain at Dunibrissill.

The Troubles betwixt the Forbeses and the Gordons in the years 1571 *and* 1572.

THE two families of Gordon and Forbes were of great power and authority in their country, both of them valiant, wise and wealthy; both harbouring deadly feud, long rooted between them. The Gordons then lived with great concord and unity among themselves; and, by attollerance of their Kings, had, for many years, governed the people adjoining unto them, whereby they became wealthy and of great power, and purchased strength among themselves, together with the attendance and following of other men towards them. When, on the contrary, the Forbeses were at wars one with another, daily impaired their own strengths, with their own slaughters, and, in end, wrought their own harm by pressing to strive against the Gordons. These two surnames did live together at this time, rather in secret emulation than open envy; because they

had (in way of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled their families together; but their hid and long rooted rancour did now burst forth, not only by following contrary factions during these civil wars betwixt the King's party and the Queen's, but chiefly because that John master of Forbes (eldest son to the lord Forbes) had repudiate and put away his wife, Margaret Gordon, daughter to George earl of Huntlie, which he did by the instigation of his uncle Black Arthur Forbes, who mortally hated the Gordons. This Arthur was a man of great courage, ambitious, and ready to undertake any thing whatsoever for the advancement and reconciliation of his family. The Forbeses, from the first time of thir civil discords in Scotland, did follow the King's party; the Gordons did always remain constantly faithful to the Queen, even unto the end.

The Forbeses, by persuasion of Black Arthur Forbes, had appointed both day and place of meeting, where they should assemble together, not only for their own general reconciliation among themselves, but also to interprise something against the Gordons and the rest of the Queen's favourers in these parts; whereof Adam Gordon of Auchindowne having secret intelligence (his brother the earl of Huntlie being then at Edinburgh) he assembled a certain number of his kindred and followers, to cross the proceedings of the Forbeses, who were all conveened at Tilliangus above Druminour, in the beginning of the year of God 1572. The Forbeses perceiving the Gordons coming up towards them, against the hill where

they then were, they did intrench themselves within their camp, which they had strongly fortified, dividing their army in two several companies, whereof Black Arthur Forbes commanded that which lay next unto the Gordons. Adam Gordon (far inferior in number to his enemies) presently, without any stay, fiercely invaded the first company, his brother, Mr. Robert Gordon, set upon the other: so, breaking their trenches, they ran desperately upon the spears of their enemies. After a sharp and cruel conflict, courageously foughten a long time on either side, Black Arthur Forbes, with divers others, gentlemen of his surname and family, were slain; the rest were all overthrown, put to flight, and chased even to the gates of Druminour, the lord Forbes his chief dwelling place; few of the Gordons were killed, but only John Gordon of Buckie, father to John Gordon of Buckie now living.

The Forbeses attempted nothing afterward in revenge of this overthrow, untill the time that John master of Forbes (Black Arthur his nephew and chief of that family) hardly escaping from his enemies, hastened to court, where the earl of Mar, then regent, had his residence, hoping by him to be relieved. The regent gave him five companies of footmen and some horsemen, with letters to such of the adjoining nobility as favoured and followed that party, desiring them to associate and join themselves unto the Forbeses. These then being confederate and assembled together with certain other families of their affinity and neighbours, so advanced the spirit of this John master of Forbes,

that he now thought himself sufficiently furnished against the forces of his adversaries, and so presently went to Aberdeen, to expel Adam Gordon from thence, the year of God 1572, who knowing the preparation of the Forbeses, and understanding the approach of the enemies so near at hand, assembled such of his friends and followers as he could soonest find at that time, and led them out of the town. He sent a company of musketeers, under the conduct of captain Thomas Care, to a convenient place where the Forbeses must of necessity pass, there to lye in ambush, and not to stir till the battle did join; then he sent certain of the Sutherland bowmen (who had retired themselves out of their country during the earl of Sutherland's minority) and desired them to draw a great compass about, and so, to set upon the back of the Forbeses footmen and musketeers; he himself, and his brother Mr. Robert Gordon, with the residue of his company, stayed the coming of the Forbeses at a place called Craibstane, not far from the ports of the new town of Aberdeen. The Forbeses, being in sight of Aberdeen, began to consult among themselves what was best to be done; some were of opinion that the fittest and safest course was to go to Old Aberdeen, and there seat themselves, and from thence to molest the New Town, and compel Adam Gordon to depart from New Aberdeen, by the aid and assistance of these experienced footmen which were sent from the regent: but the master of Forbes and his kinsmen would not hearken thereto, desiring present battle, which was then concluded; and so

the Forbeses advanced with great courage against the Gordons, who received them with the *like* resolution. At the very first rencounter, Auchin downe his musketeers, who lay in ambush, killed a number of the Forbeses; then both the armies joined with great violence. After a cruel conflict, with incredible obstinacy on either side, the laird of Pitsligo (Forbes) his two brethren, with divers other gentlemen of the surname of Forbes, were there slain; captain Chisholme with the footmen (sent by the regent to their support) were put to flight by the Sutherland bowmen, who pursued them eagerly with great slaughter. Among the rest capt. Chisholme was slain, with three other captains, which the rest of the Forbeses perceiving, they fled apace; many of the principals were taken, with their chief and general John master of Forbes, whose father was then very aged, lying sick at Druminour, expecting the sorrowful news of this overthrow. Adam Gordon used this victory very moderately, and suffered no man to be killed after the fury of the fight was past. When all was ended he returned to the church of Aberdeen, and there gave thanks unto God for his happy success. Alexander Forbes of Strath-gar-neck, (author of all thir troubles betwixt these two families, and the chief stirrer up of Arthur Forbes against the Gordons) was taken at this battle, and as they were going to behead him, Auchindowne caused stay his execution. He intertained the master of Forbes, and the rest of the prisoners, with great kindness and courtesy; he carried the master of

Forbes along with him to Strathbogie; and in end, gave him and all the rest leave to depart.

The next ensuing summer after this conflict at Craibstane, Adam Gordon of Auchindowne, following his victory, entered the Mearns, and besieged the house of Glenbervie, putting all the regent's party within that province into a great fear and tumult. The earl of Crawfurd, the lords Gray, Ogilvie, and Glames, taking part with the regent against the Queen, assembled all the forces of Angus and Mearns to resist Auchindowne, and to stop his passage at Breichin, where they encamped; but Adam Gordon, being advertised of their proceedings, left the most part of his men at the siege of Glenbervie, from whence he parted in the dead time of the night, with the most resolute men of his company, to invade these lords; and being come to Breichen, he killed the watch with divers others, surprized the town, set upon the lords, chased them, and made himself master of the town and castle of Breichin. The next morning, the lords understanding Auchindowne's small forces in regard of theirs, they assembled their men together, and came near unto Breichen to fight against him, who met them with resolute courage; but as they were ready to encounter, the lords, not able to endure the first charge of their enemies, fled a-pace with all their companies. There were slain of them above 80; and divers of them were taken, amongst whom was the lord Glames, who was carried to Strathbogie, and being detained there a while, he was set at liberty with the rest. This conflict was called the Bourd

of Breichen. Then returned Adam Gordon back again to the siege of Glenbervie, and took it; from thence he went to Montrose, and took that town. In his return from thence, he took the castle of Dun, which appertained to the regent's cousin, and so marched foreward into Angus. The inhabitants of Dundee hearing of his approach, and despairing of their own abilities to resist him, they sent for help into Fife; but Auchindowne, having done his pleasure in Angus and Mearns, returned home into the north, being contented for that time, with what he had already done against his enemies. By this good success of the Gordons, the Queen's favourers in all the parts of the kingdom were highly encouraged at that time.

The Brige of Dee.

THE year of God 1588 there were some secret emulations and factions at court; the earl of Huntlie being in favour with his Majesty, obtained the captainry of his Majesty's guards, which the master of Glames had before; for this cause the master of Glames and his associates, joining themselves to the English ambassador then lying at Edinburgh, do surmise to the King's Majesty, that some letters of the Earl of Huntlie's sent by him to the King of Spain, were intercepted in England. Huntlie was called to make his answer; he compears, and refuses these letters to have been written or sent by him, but only devised by his enemies, thereby to put him in disgrace by his master: yet he is warded in the castle of Edinburgh,

in the latter end of February, and being tried, he is released the 7th day of March following; whereupon the earls of Huntlie, Craufurd, and Erroll address themselves unto the north, and take journey towards St. Johnstoun, where they were advertised that the earls of Athole and Morton and the master of Glames had conveened forces to intrap them within St. Johnstoun. Huntlie, Erroll, and Craufurd issued forth of that town, with such small companies as they then had, and rencountered with the master of Glames, whom they chased and apprehended in Kirkhill, and carried him prisoner with them into the north.

Chancellor Maitland and the rest of the master of Glames his faction at court, hearing of this accident they inflame the king with anger against Huntlie and his associates, and do persuade his Majesty to take a journey into the north. Huntlie, in this mean time, assembles all his friends and dependers to the number of 10,000 men, and came forward to the Brige of Dee, with a resolution to fight against his enemies, the 20th of April the year 1589: but being certainly informed that the King was coming in person against him, he dissolved his army, and submitted himself to his Majesty, withal releasing the master of Glames from captivity; whereupon Huntlie was committed to ward at Edinburgh, then at Borthwick, thereafter at Finnevin; from whence he was shortly after released by his majesty. The earl of Errol was also warded in Edinburgh castle, where he was detained untill he pays a sum of money, which was employed to the use of Chancellor Maitland.

A Tumult in Ross, the year of God, 1597.

THE year of God 1597 there happened an accident in Ross, at a fair in Laggivreid, which had almost put Ross and all the neighbouring countries in a combustion. The quarrel did begin betwixt John Macgillicallum (brother to the laird of Rasay) and Alexander Bane, brother to Duncan Bane of Tulloch. The Munroes did assist Alexander Bane, and the Clan-Cheinzie took part with John Macgillicallum, who was there slain, with John Mac-Marthow-Mac-William, and three others of the Clan-Cheinzie. Alexander Bane escaped, but there were killed on his side John Munro of Kulcraigie, with his brother Hutcheon Munro, and John Munro Roberts-son. Hereupon the Clan-Cheinzie and the Munroes began to employ the aid and assistance of their friends from all parts to invade one another; but they were in some measure reconciled by the mediation of indifferent friends and neighbours.

The Death of Sir Lauchlan Maclean, the year 1598.

SIR LAUCHLAN MACLEAN his ambition, together with his desire of revenge, thrust him on to claim the inheritance of the whole isle of Ila, being always the possession and ancient inheritance of the Clan-Donald, all which Maclean thought easily now to compass, Sir James Macdonald (the just inheritor thereof) being young, and his father Angus Macdonald aged. Sir

Lauchlan assembleth his whole forces, and, in warlike manner, invades Ila, to take possession thereof by virtue of a new right which he had then lately obtained: which Sir James Macdonald (Maclean his sister's son) understanding, he conveened his friends, and went likewise unto the same island (being his own and his forbears possession) to interrupt, if it were possible, the proceedings of his unkind uncle Maclean. Being both arrived in the island, such as did love them, and desired peace, did mediate a long time betwixt them, and took great pains in essaying to agree them. Sir James (being the more reasonable of the two) was content to let his uncle have the half of the island during his lifetime, although he had no just title thereto, providing he would take it in the same fashion as his predecessors, the Clan-Lean, had it ever before his time, to wit, holden of the Clan-Donald; and moreover, he offered to submit the controversy to the king's majesty's arbitriment, thereby to eschew all debate with his uncle. But Maclean running headlong to his own mischief, much against the opinion of his friends, who advised him to the contrary, did refuse all offers of peace, unless his nephew would then presently resign unto him the title and possession of the whole island. Whereupon they both resolve and prepare to fight, Sir James being far inferior in number of men, but some of these he had with him were lately before trained in the wars of Ireland. Thus there ensued a cruel and sharp battle, at the head of Loch-Groinart in Ila, courageously foughten a long time on either side. Sir

James, in the beginning, caused his vanguard make a compass in fashion of a retreat, thereby to get the sun at his back, and the advantage of a hill which was hard by. In end, Sir James having repulsed the enemies vanguard, and forcing their main battle, Maclean was slain courageously fighting, together with 80 of the most principal men of his kin, and 200 common soldiers lying dead about him. His son Lauchlan Barrach Maclean (being sore wounded) was chased with the rest of his men even to their boats and vessels. Sir James Macdonald was dangerously wounded, whereof he hardly recovered afterward, for he was shot with an arrow through the body, and was left the most part of the ensuing night for dead amongst the slain bodies. There were slain of the Clan-Donald about 30 in all, and above 60 wounded, which happened the year of God 1598. And thus the war begun by Maclean, without reason, the year of God 1585, ended now, this year, by his death. Maclean had three responses from a witch before he undertook this journey into Ila; first, desiring him not to land there upon Thursday; the next was, forbidding him to drink of the water of a well beside Groinart; and thirdly, he told him that one called Maclean should be slain at Groinart. The first he transgressed unwillingly, being driven into that island by a tempest on a Thursday. The second he transgressed negligently, and drank of that water before he knew the name of the place, and so he died at Groinart as was foretold of him, but doubtfully, and as commonly all such responses be. These broils and

uproars did so move the King against the Macdonald, that his Majesty afterward finding the inheritance both of Kintyre and Ila to be at his own disposition, he gave all these lands to the earl of Argyle and the Campbells; whereupon proceeded the troubles that arose since, betwixt the Campbells and the Clan-donald in Kintyre and Ila, after his Majesty's coming to the crown of England, which I omit to relate; only thus far, that Sir James Macdonald was, by Argyle his means, warded in the castle of Edinburgh, and was keeped there a long time; from whence he escaped by the means and diligence of his cousin Macrenald, who fled with Sir James into Spain and Flanders, where they were entertained by the Spanziard; from whence they are now of late (upon the Earl of Argyle his flight thither to the king of Spain) both recalled home by his Majesty, the year of God 1620, and are now in England, at this time, with the king, who hath given Sir James a yearly pension of 1000 merks Sterling, and a yearly pension of 200 merks Sterling to Macrenald, together with a pardon for all their bygane offences.

Troubles in the West Isles betwixt the Clan-Donald and the Seil-Tormot, the year 1601.

DONALD GORME MACDONALD of the Slaitt had married Sir Rory Macleod of the Herris his sister, and for some displeasure or jealousy conceived against her, he did repudiate her; whereupon Sir Rory Macleod sent message to Donald Gorme, desiring him to take home his sister.

Donald Gorme not only refused to obey his request, but also intended divorcement against her; which when he had obtained, he married Kenneth Mackenzie lord of Kintail his sister. Sir Rory Macleod took this disgrace (as he thought it) so highly, that assembling his countrymen and followers, without delay, he invaded, with fire and sword, a part of Donald Gorme his lands in the isle of Skie, which lands Sir Rory did claim to appertain to himself. Donald Gorme impatient of this injury, conveened his forces, and went into the Herris, which he wasted and spoiled, carried away their store and bestial, and killed some of the inhabitants. This again did so stir up Sir Rory Macleod and his kin the Seil-Tormot, that they took a journey into the isle of Ouyst (which appertaineth to Donald Gorme) and landing there, Sir Rory sent his cousin Donald Glasse Macleod, with some 40 men, to spoil the island, and to take a prey of goods out of the precinct of Kille-trynaid, where the people had put all their goods to be preserved as in a sanctuary, being a church. John Macean-Macjames (a kinsman of Donald Gorme's) being desired by him to stay in the island, accompanied with 20 others, rencountered with Donald Glasse Macleod. This small company of the Clan-Donald behaved themselves so valiantly, that, after a sharp skirmish, they killed Donald Glasse Macleod with the most part of his company, and so rescued the goods. Sir Rory, seeing the bad success of his kinsmen, retired home for that time.

Thus both the parties were bent headlong a-

gainst others with a spirit full of revenge and fury, and so continued mutually infesting one another with spoils and cruel slaughters, to the utter ruin and desolation of both their countries, untill the inhabitants were forced to eat horse, dogs, cats, and other filthy beasts. In end, Donald Gorme assembled his whole forces the year of God 1601, to try the event of battle, and came to invade Sir Rory his lands, thinking thereby to draw his enemies to fight. Sir Rory Macleod was then in Argyle, craving aid and advice from the earl of Argyle against the Clan-Donald. Alexander Macleod (Sir Rory his brother) resolves to fight with Donald Gorme, though his brother was absent: so assembling all the inhabitants of his brother's lands, with the whole race of the Seil-Tormot, and some of the Seil-Torquille, out of the Lewes, he encamped beside a hill called Bin-guillin in the isle of Sky, with a resolution to fight against Donald Gorme and the Clan-Donald the next morning, which were no sooner come but there ensued a cruel and terrible skirmish, which lasted the most part of the day, both contending for the victory with great obstinacy. The Clan-Donald, in end, overthrew their enemies, hurt Alexander Macleod and took him prisoner, with Neill Macalester-Roy, and 30 others of the chiefest men among the Seil-Tormot, killed two near kinsmen of Sir Rory Macleod's, John Mactormot and Tormot Mactormot, with many others. After this skirmish there followed a reconciliation betwixt them, by the mediation of old Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, the laird of Colle, and others. Then Do-

nald Gorme delivered unto Sir Rory Macleod all the prisoners taken at Bin-guillin, together with his brother Alexander Macleod. Since which time they have continued in peace and quietness.

The troubles betwixt the Lord Kintaile and the Laird of Glengarrie.

THE year of God 1602, the lord Kintaile and his kin, the Clan-Cheinzie, fell at variance with the laird of Glengarrie (one of the Clan-Donald) who being unexpert and unskilful in the laws of the realm, the Clan-Cheinzie intrapped and insnared him within the compass thereof, and charged him, with a number of his men and followers, to compear before the justice at Edinburgh, they having, in the mean time, slain two of his kinsmen. Glengarrie, not knowing or neglecting the charges, came not to Edinburgh at the prefixed day, but went about, at his own hand, to revenge the slaughter of his kinsmen. Thereupon the lord of Kintaile, by his credit in council, doth purchase a commission against Glengarrie and his countrymen; which being obtained, Kintaile (with the assistance of the next adjoining neighbours, by virtue of his commission) went into Moroll (which appertained to Glengarrie) and wasted all that country; then, in his return from Moroll, he besieged the castle of Strome, which, in end, he took, by treason of the captain unto whom Glengarrie had committed the custody thereof. Afterward the Clan-Cheinzie did invade Glengarrie his eldest son, whom they killed with 40 of his followers, not without some slaugh-

ter of the Clan-Cheinzie likewise. In end, after great slaughter on either side, they came to an agreement, wherein Glengarrie (for to obtain his peace) was glad to acquit and renounce to the lord of Kintaile, the perpetual inheritance of the Stronie, with the lands adjacent.

Some troubles in the Isle of Rasey, the year of God 1611.

IN the month of August 1611 there happened an accident in the isle of Rasey, which is among the West Isles, where Gillcolme laird of Rasey and Murthow Mackenzie (son to the laird of Garlogh) with some others, were slain, upon this occasion. The lands of Garlogh did sometime pertain to the lairds of Rasey, his predecessors, and when the surname of Clan-Cheinzie began first to rise and flourish, one of them did obtain the third part of Garloch in wadset; and thus once getting footing therein, shortly thereafter doth purchase a pretended right of the whole, which the lawful inheritors did neglect; whereby, in process of time, the Clan Cheinzie do challenge the whole, whereof this laird of Garlogh his father obtains the possession, excluding the laird of Rasey and his kin, the Clan-Vic-Gillcolme; whom Garlogh and the Clan-Cheinzie did pursue with fire and sword, and chased them out of Garlogh. In like manner, the Clan-Vic-Gillcolme invaded the laird of Garlogh and his country with spoils and slaughters. In end, the laird of Garlogh apprehended John Macallen, and chased John Holmogh, two princi-

pal men of the race of Clan-Vic-Gillcolme, and near cousins to the laird of Rasey; at which skirmish there was slaughter on either side, the year of God 1610. The laird of Garlogh not fully satisfied herewith, he sent his son Murthow, accompanied with Alexander Bane (son and heir to Alexander Bane of Tulloch) and some others, to search and pursue John Holmogh; and to this effect he did hire a ship (which then, by chance, happened to ly upon that coast) to transport his son Murthow, with his company, into the isle of Skie, where he understood John Holmogh to be at that time. But how soon Murthow with his company were embarked, they turned their course another way, and (whether of set purpose, or constrained thereto by contrary winds, I know not) arrived at the isle of Rasey, running headlong to their own destruction. The laird of Rasey, perceiving the ship in the harbour, went aboard to buy some wines and other commodities, accompanied with 12 men. How soon Murthow did see them coming, he, with all his company (least they should be known or seen) went to the lower rooms of the ship, untill the other party had gone away. The laird of Rasey entered the ship, and having spoken the marinells, he departed with a resolution to return quickly. Murthow understanding that they were gone, came out of the lower rooms; and perceiving them come again, he resolved not to conceal himself any longer. The laird of Rasey desired his brother Murthow Macgillcolme to follow him unto the ship, with more company, in another galley, that they might carry to the shore

some wine and other provision, which he had resloved to buy from the marinells; so the laird of Rasey returning to the ship, and finding Garlogh his son there beyond his expectation, he adviseth with his men, and thereupon resolveth to take him prisoner, in pledge of his cousin John Macallen, whom Garlogh detained in captivity. They began first to quarrel, then to fight in the ship, which continued all the day long; in end, the laird of Rasey was slain, and divers of his men; so was Murthow the son of Garlogh and Alexander Bane killed, with their haill company, three only excepted, who fought so manfully, that they killed all those that came into the ship with the laird of Rasey, and hurt a number of those that were with Murthow Macgillcolme in two galleys hotly pursuing them; at last, feeling themselves deadly hurt, and not able to endure any longer, they sailed away with a prosperous wind, and died shortly thereafter.

The troubles of the Lewes.

RORY MACLEOD of the Lewes had three wives; he married first Barbara Stewart, daughter to the Lord Meffen, by whom he had Torquill Yre, who died, before his father, without issue; after Barbara Stewart's death, Rory married Mackenzie's daughter, who bore Torquill Connaldagh, whom Rory would not acknowledge as his son, but held him always a bastard; and repudiating his mother, he married Maclean his sister, by whom he had Torquill Dow and Tormot. Besides these,

Rory had three base sons, Neill Macleod, Rory-Oig, and Murthow Macleod. After the death of old Rory Macleod, his son Torquill Dow Macleod (excluding his brother Torquill Connaldagh as a bastard) doth take possession of the Lewes, and is acknowledged by the inhabitants as the lawful inheritor of that island. Torquill Connaldagh (by some called Torquill of the Cogigh) perceiving himself thus put by the inheritance of the Lewes, he hath recourse to his mother's kindred the Clan-Cheinzie, and desires their support to recover the same. The lord Kintaile, Torquill Connaldagh, his brother Murthow Macleod, and the Brienre of the Lewes, met altogether in Ross, to advise by what means Torquil Connaldagh might obtain the possession of the Lewes, which they were out of all hope to effectuate so long as Torquill Dow was alive; whereupon the Brienre of the Lewes undertook to slay his master Torquill Dow, which he brings thus to pass; the Brienre, being accompanied with the most part of his tribe (the Clan-vic-gill-voir) went in his galley to the isle of Roney; and, by the way he apprehended a Dutch ship, which he brought by force along with him to the Lewes; he invites his master Torquill Dow unto a banquet in the ship; Torquill Dow (suspecting no deceit) went thither accompanied with seven of the best of his friends, and sat down in the ship, expecting some drink: instead of wine, they bring cords; thus were they all apprehended and bound by the Brienre and his kindred, who brought them to the lord of Kintaile his bounds, and there beheaded them every man, in July 1597. Neither did this advance

Torquill Connaldagh to the possession of the Lewes; for his brother Neill Macleod opposed himself, and pursued the Brienre and his kin, in a part of the island called Neise, which they had fortified; where he killed divers of them, and made them leave the strength. Thus did Neill Macleod possess the island, to the behoof of his brother Tormot, and the children of Torquill Dow, whom he did acknowledge to be righteous heirs of the island. Torquill Connaldagh had now lost both his sons, John and Neill, and had married his daughter to Rory Mackenzie (the lord Kintaile his brother) giving her in marriage the lands of Coigigh. Hereupon Kintaile began to think and advise by what means he might purchase to himself the inheritance of that island, having now Torquill Connaldagh and his brother Murthow Macleod altogether at his devotion, and having Tormot Macleod in his custody, whom he took from the schools; so that he had none to oppose unto his designs but Neill Macleod, whom he might easily overthrow: Kintaile deals earnestly with Torquill Connaldagh, and, in end, persuades him to resign the right of the island into his favours, and to deliver him all the old rights and evidents of the Lewes.

In this mean time, the barons and gentlemen of Fife, hearing these troubles, were intysed, by the persuasion of some that had been there, and by the report of the fertility of the island, to undertake a difficile and hard interprize. They conclude to send a colony thither, and to civilize (if it were possible) the inhabitants of the island: To this

effect, they obtain, from the King, a gift of the Lewes, the year of God 1599, or thereabouts, which was alledged to be then at his Majesty's disposition. Thereupon the adventurers, being joined together in Fife, they assemble a company of soldiers, with artificers of all sorts, and did transport them into the Lewes, where they erected houses and buildings, till, in end, they make a pretty little town, in a proper and convenient place fit for the purpose, and there they encamped themselves. Neill Macleod and Murthow (the sons of old Rory) withstood the undertakers; Murthow Macleod invaded the laird of Balcolmy, whom he apprehended together with his ship, and killed all his men: so, having detained him six months in captivity in the Lewes, he released him upon his promise to pay him a ransom.

Now Neill Macleod was grieved in heart to see his brother Murthow intertain the Brienre and his tribe, being the chief instruments of their brother Torquill Dow his slaughter; and thereupon Neill apprehended his brother Murthow; which, when the undertakers had heard, they sent message unto Neill, shewing, that if he would deliver unto them his brother Murthow, they would agree with himself, give him a portion of the island, and assist him to revenge the slaughter of his brother Torquill Dow. Whereunto Neill hearkened, and delivered his brother Murthow to the undertakers; then went Neill with them to Edinburgh, and had his pardon from the King for all his bypast offences. Murthow Macleod was executed at St. Andrews.

Thus was the earl of Kintaile in despair to pur-

chase or obtain the Lewes; and therefore he bends all his wits to cross the undertakers: he setteth Tormot Macleod at liberty, thinking that at his arrival in the island, all the inhabitants would stir in his favours against the undertakers; which they did indeed, as the natural inclination is of all these islanders and Highlanders, who, of all other people, are most bent and willing to hazard and adventure themselves, their lives, and all they have, for their lords and masters. The King was informed, by the undertakers that the lord of Kintaile was a crosser and hinderer of their interprize; whereupon he was brought into question, and committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he was released, without the trial of an assize, by the lord chancellor his means. Neill Macleod returning into the Lewes with the undertakers, he fell at variance with them; whereupon he went about to invade their camp, and they began, in like manner, to lay a snare for him. The laird of Wormistoun, chusing a very dark night, sent forth a company to apprehend Neill; who, perceiving them coming, invaded them, and chased them, with slaughter, to their camp. By this time came Tormot Macleod into the island, at whose arrival the inhabitants speedily assembled, and came to him as to their lord and master. Thereupon Tormot, accompanied with his brother Neill, invaded the camp of the undertakers, forced it, burnt the fort, killed most part of their men, took their commanders prisoners, and released them, after eight months captivity. Thus, for a while, Tormot Macleod commanded in that island, untill the undertakers returned again to the Lewes,

being assisted by the forces of all the neighbouring countries, by virtue of the King's commission, directed against Tormot Macleod and his kin the Seil-Torquill. How soon their forces were landed in the island, Tormot Macleod rendered himself to the undertakers, upon their promise to carry him safe to London, and to obtain him a remission for his bypast crimes; but Neill Macleod stood out, and would not submit himself. Tormot being come to London, the King gives him a pardon; but withal he sent him home into Scotland, to be keeped in ward at Edinburgh; where he remained untill the month of March 1615, that the King gave him liberty to pass into Holland, where he ended his days. Tormot thus warded in Edinburgh, the adventurers did settle themselves again, for a little while, in the Lewes; where, at last, the undertakers began to weary; many of the adventurers and partners drew back from the interprize; some, for lack of means, were not able; others died; others had greater occasions and business elsewhere to abstract them; many of them began to decline and decay in their estates; and so, being continually vexed by Neill Macleod, they left the island, and returned into Fife.

The lord of Kintaile, perceiving all things thus fall out to his mind, did now shew himself openly in the matter; he past a gift of the island, in his own name, under his Majesty's great seal, by the lord chancellor his means, by virtue of the old right which Torquill Connaldagh had before resigned in his favours: some of the adventurers complained hereof to the King's Majesty, who was

highly displeased with Kintaile, and made him to resign his right into his Majesty's hands; which right being now at his Majesty's disposition, he gave the same to three of the undertakers, to wit, the lord Balmerinoch, Sir James Spence of Wormistoun, and Sir George Hay: who, now, having all the right in their persons, assembled their forces together, with the aid of most part of all the neighbouring countries; and so, under the conduct of Sir George Hay and Sir James Spence, they invaded the Lewes again, not only to settle a colony there, but also to search for Neill Macleod.

The lord Kintaile (yet hunting after the Lewes) did underhand assist Neill, and publicly did aid the undertakers by virtue of the King's commission; Kintaile sent a supply of victuals, in a ship from Ross, to the adventurers; in the mean time he sendeth quietly to Neill Macleod, desiring him to take the ship by the way, that the undertakers, trusting to those victuals, and being disappointed thereof, might be forced to retire, and abandon the island; which fell out accordingly: for Sir James Spence and Sir George Hay, failing to apprehend Neill, and being scarce of victuals to furnish their army, they began to weary, and so dismissed all the neighbouring forces. Sir George Hay and Wormistoun did then retire into Fife, leaving some men in the island to defend and keep the fort untill they did send them a fresh supply of men and victuals: whereupon Neill, being assisted by his nephew Malcolm Macleod (the son of Rory-Oig) invaded the undertakers camp, burnt the same, apprehended all those which were left

behind in the island, and sent them home safely: since which time they never returned again into the Lewes. Then did the lord Balmerinoch, Sir George Hay, and Sir James Spence begin to weary of the Lewes, and sold their title of that island to the lord of Kintaile for a sum of money: whereby, in end, after great trouble and much blood, he obtained that island. And thus did this interprize of the Fife undertakers come to no effect, after they had spent much time, and most part of their means about it.

Kintaile was glad that he had now at last catched his long expected prey; and thereupon he went into the island, where he was no sooner landed, but all the inhabitants yield unto him, except Neill Macleod and some few others. The inhabitants yielded the more willingly to Kintaile, because he was their neighbour, and might still vex them with continual incursions if they did stand out against him; which the undertakers were not able to do. Neill Macleod was now forced to retire unto a rock, within the sea, called Berrisay, which he kept for the space of three years; during the time of his stay in the fort of Berrisay, there arrived an English pirate in the Lewes, who had a ship furnished with great wealth; this pirate (called Peter Lowe) entered in friendship and familiarity with Neill, being both rebels: at last, Neill took him prisoner with all his men, whom he sent, together with the ship, to the council of Scotland, thinking thereby to get his own pardon, and his brother Tormot released out of prison; but neither of them did he obtain: and all the

Englishmen, with their captain (Peter Lowe) were hanged at Leith, the year of God 1612. Neill Macleod being wearied to remain in the fort of Berrisay, did abandon the same, and dispersing all his company several ways, he retires into Herries, where he remained a certain while in secret: then he rendered himself unto his cousin Sir Rory Macleod, whom he intreated to carry him into England to his Majesty; which Sir Rory undertook to do; and coming to Glasgow, with a resolution to embark there for England, he was charged there, under the pain of treason, to deliver Neill; whom he presented before the council at Edinburgh, where he was executed in April 1613. After the death of Neill, his nephew Malcolm Macleod (the son of Rory-Oig) escaping from the tutor of Kintaile, did associate himself to the Clan-Donald, in Ila and Kintyre, during their troubles against the Campbells, the years of God 1614, 1615, and 1616; at which time Malcolm made a journey from Kintyre into the Lewes, and there killed two gentlemen of the Clan-Cheinzie; then he went into Spain, and there remained in Sir James Macdonald his company, with whom he is now again returned into England, the year of God 1620.

Some troubles betwixt Sutherland and Catteyness, the year of God 1612.

THE year of God 1612 there happened some discord and dissension betwixt Sutherland and Catteyness, which troubled, a little, the peace of

that part of the kingdom. The occasion was this; one Arthur Smith (a false coiner) being, together with his servant, apprehended for making and striking of false money, were both sent to Edinburgh, the year of God 1599, where his servant was executed; but Arthur himself escaped, and retired into Catteyness, and dwelt there with the earl of that countrey. The report hereof coming to the King's ears, the year of God 1612, his Majesty gave a secret commission to his servant Sir Robert Gordon (the earl of Sutherland his brother) for apprehending this Arthur Smith; but as Sir Robert was going about to perform the same, he received a commandment from his Majesty to accompany Sir Alexander Hay (then secretary of Scotland) in apprehending John Leslie of New Leslie, and some other rebels in Gereagh; which Sir Robert obeyed, and committed the execution of the commission against Arthur Smith, unto his nephew Donald Macky of Farr, John Gordon of Gotpeter younger (nephew to George Gordon slain at Marle the year 1587) and to John Gordon, son to John Gordon of Backies. These three, parting from Sutherland with 36 men, came to the town of Thurso in Catteyness, where Arthur Smith then dwelt, and there apprehended him; which when John Sinclair of Skirkag (the earl of Catteyness his nephew) understood, he assembled the inhabitants of the town, and opposed himself to the King's commission. There ensued a sharp skirmish upon the streets of Thurso, where John Sinclair of Skirkag was slain, and James Sinclair of Dun left there deadly hurt, lying upon the

ground; Arthur Smith was there likewise slain: divers of the Sutherland men were hurt; but they perceiving Smith dead, they left Thurso, and retired themselves all home into their own country.

Thereupon both the parties compeared before the secret council at Edinburgh; the earl of Catteyness did pursue Sir Robert Gordon, Donald Macky, and John Gordon, for the slaughter of his nephew; these, again, did pursue the inhabitants of Catteyness for resisting the King's commissioners. The secret council (having special commandment from his Majesty to that effect) dealt earnestly with both the parties; and, in end, persuaded them to submit these questions and debates to the arbitriment of friends. A certain number of the lords of council were chosen as friends for either party; the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the earl of Dumfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, were appointed oversmen by consent of both the parties. These friendly judges having heard the business reasoned in their presence, and finding that the examination thereof would prove tedious and intricate; they direct a power to the marquis of Huntlie to deal in the matter; desiring him to try, if, by his means and mediation, these contentions might be settled, happening betwixt parties so strictly tied to him by blood and alliance, the earl of Sutherland being his cousin-german, and the earl of Catteyness having married his sister. The marquis of Huntlie did his best, but could not prevail, either party being so far from condescending to others demands, and so he remitted the business back again to the secret council; which

Sir Robert Gordon perceiving, he moved the King's Majesty for a pardon to Donald Macky, John Gordon, and their associates, for the slaughter of John Sinclair of Skirkag; which his Majesty easily granted, seeing it was committed in the execution of his Majesty's service: yet, nevertheless, there still remained a grudge in the minds of the parties, searching by all means and occasions to infest one another, untill the year of God 1619, that the earl of Cattsyness and Sir Robert Gordon (then, by his brother's death, tutor of Sutherland) were reconciled by the mediation of George lord Gordon, earl of Enzie; by whose travel and diligence, all particulars betwixt the houses of Sutherland and Catteyness were finally settled: and then went both of them familiarly to eithers houses; whose perfect reconciliation will doubtless tend to the peace and quiet of these parts of the kingdom.

THE

SPANISH BLANKS,

AND

WHAT FOLLOWS THEREUPON,

The Years of God 1592, 1593, *and* 1594.

THE year of God 1592 the ministry and church of Scotland thought it necessar that all such as professed the Roman religion in the kingdom, should either be compelled to embrace the reformed religion, or else that the censure of excommunication should be used against them, and their goods decerned to appertain to the King so long as they remained disobedient. Mr. George Car, doctor of the laws, was the first that withstood, and was excommunicate; the next was David Graham of Fintrie. This Mr. George Car, considering that hereby he could have no quiet residence within his native country, did deliberate with himself to pass beyond sea into Spain; and therefore, that he might be the welcomer there, he devised cer-

tain blanks, as if they had been subscribed by some of the Scottish nobility, and directed from them to the king of Spain, to be filled up at his pleasure: which project was first hatched by the Jesuits, and chiefly by father Crightoun, who, for some discontentment had, few years before, left Scotland and fled into Spain: where he endeavoured to insinuate himself into King Philip his favour, and published a book concerning the genealogy of his daughter, the Infanta, married to the Archduke; wherein he did his best to prove, that the two crowns of England and Scotland did appertain unto her: and, that this cunning Jesuit might the rather move King Philip to make war against the King of Scotland, he writeth books and pamphlets in the disgrace of his own native prince. Then he adviseth with himself that his next and readiest way was to solicite some of his friends in Scotland, who were of his faith: and to this effect he writeth letters this year of God 1592 to this George Car, and to such of his own colleagues the Jesuits as were then in this kingdom, whereby he made them understand what great favour and credit he had with the King of Spain, who by his persuasions, was resolved both to invade England, and to establish the Catholick faith in Scotland; but first, that King Philip would be assured of the good will of the Catholicks of Scotland; wherefore he behooved to have certain blanks subscrived by the Catholics, and that he should cause them to be filled up afterwards; which, if he did obtain, he had promise of the King of Spain, to send them 250,000 crowns to be distributed among

them. After this advertisement of father Crighton's, this George Car (by the advice of the Jesuits then resident in Scotland) devised these blanks, to the effect that George Car might transport them into Spain. Car addressed himself to the town of Air to have taken shipping there, and lying in the isle of Cumray, attending a fair wind, he was discovered by the indiscretion of father Abercrombie, and apprehended in the ship; from whence he was carried back to Air, and from thence convoyed to Edinburgh: with him was found a packet of letters, directed (as it were) from some Scottish noblemen into Spain and some parts of France: therein were found blanks alleged subscrived by the earl of Angus, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Erroll, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindowne, uncle to the earl of Huntley. The blanks were thus, Imprimis, two missive bills directed to the king of Spain; the one subscrived *de vostre Majesté tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, François Comte d'Erroll*; another on this manner, *de vostre Majesté tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, Guillame Comte d'Angus*; item, another blank subscrived by them all four, as it were by form of contract or obligation conjunctly thus, *Gulielmus Angusiæ Comes, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Franciscus, Erroliæ Comes, Patricius Gordon de Auchindoune Miles*; item, a blank subscrived apart by *Franciscus Erroliæ Comes*; item, one by *Georgius Comes de Huntley*; item, one by *Gulielmus Angusiæ Comes*. Hereupon the ministers sent some of the privy council to the king to Alloway (where his majesty then lay) to advertise

him of these blanks. The King came to Edinburgh, where all the matter was debated to him at length partly by Mr. Bowes Leiger, ambassador for the Queen of England in Scotland, and partly by Mr. Robert Bruce, principal minister at Edinburgh, shewing that the realm of Scotland was in apparent danger of Spaniards to be brought in by the forenamed earls being Papists; and thereby, both his Majesty's crown was in danger, and the established religion in hazard to be altered. That Mr. George Car had sufficiently delated the whole circumstance of the business in his confession, accusing the Popish lords as guilty of these blanks; and thus, taking the matter already *pro confesso*, they urge the business vehemently, and do intreat his Majesty to proceed against them with all celerity and rigour. Then was David Graham of Fintrie apprehended, arraigned, and executed at Edinburgh, in February this year 1592, (or 1593 *stilo novo*) who, thinking to save himself thereby, did write a long letter, subscrived with his own hand, directed to the King, wherein he made mention that the Roman Catholicks of Scotland had undertaken to receive such a number of soldiers as the King of Spain and his council should appoint; and in case he would bestow any money for levying of men here, they should both willingly convoy the King's army into England, and retain a certain number in Scotland, for reformation of religion, and to purchase liberty of conscience: that he himself had given counsel thereunto divers times, after that the matter was communicate to him by the Jesuits, and because

he fore-knew this purpose, and concealed the same, he was in danger of the law: for this cause he desired not to be tried by a jury, but offered himself unto the King's mercy and will, when he was arraigned at the bar. The King (not the less of this his voluntary confession) commanded to proceed against him according to the law; which was done.

After this, the King's Majesty (believing certainly that these blanks, together with the informations and intelligence of father Crightoun concerning the Spanish King, were true indeed) addressed himself to the north of Scotland, for prosecuting of Huntley, Angus, and Errol, and made his Majesty's residence at Aberdeen. Themselves and their dependers were, by open proclamation, at their dwelling places, required to show their obedience and appearance before the King: but they having understood before the King's coming, and how his Majesty was incensed and stirred up against them, they had all left their ordinary habitations void. The countesses of Huntley and Errol came to the King, to whom he granted their houses and rents, without making any account thereof to his Majesty's thesaurer for the supposed transgression of their husbands.

In this mean time, the Queen of England sent an extraordinary ambassador into Scotland, whom the King received at Edinbrgh, after his Majesty's return from Aberdeen. This ambassador required, that the peace and confederacy concluded and confirmed at Leith, after the expulsing of the French army from Scotland, should now, *de novo*, be rati-

fied by his Majesty in his perfect age; and further, that he should, without delay, punish the lords and gentlemen suspect of treason, and tried by their own writs and messages; that he should grant them no favour, but extreme rigour; for fear of the inconvenient that should follow upon [illegible] wicked pretences, if they were unpunished, when both time and occasion permitted the same. Still the English ambassador and the Scottish ministers urged the King to call the Catholick lords to a trial of their peers; but the King procured to the ministers thus much for them, that, by their favours, they might be brought to be tried without warding; and thereafter to make such satisfaction as should be thought requisite; that in case they were found culpable, to be punished as justice should require; and, if it were otherwise, that they should be absolved: but the ministers would not yield unto the King's pleasure therein, nor permit that the Popish lords should have any trial, till they should be first warded untill the nobles should conveen to try them. The King refused to ward them untill they were found guilty; knowing, by this time, their innocence: for George Car had refused what he had before, through fear, confessed against the lords, touching the Spanish blanks. His majesty was earnest with the ministers that no excommunication should pass against the lords before their trial; which was refused: whereupon there was a convention of the estates holden by his Majesty at St. Johnstoun, the year of God 1593, to curb the power of the presbyterial ministers. There it was resolved (to

suppress their liberty) the estate of bishops should be erected and restored. Within a few days after, the King went from St. Johnstoun to the abby of Halyrudhouse; whither also came secretly the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Erroll. The next day, the King riding at Lawder to visit chancellor Maitland (who was then sick) these three earls came to his Majesty on the highway; and there humbling themselves, in a few words demanded licence to be tried, which his Majesty granted. But the King thereafter, in respect that he had promised both to the ambassador of England and to the ministers at Edinburgh, that he should neither receive them, nor admit them to his presence and favour, till they were tried; he directed the master of Glammes and the lord Lindores unto the ambassador and the ministers, to certify them of their coming to his Majesty on the highway, at such time and place as looked not for; and although he had used but some few words unto them, yet he would proceed no further, nor show them any other favour, but according to justice and reason. Then the ministry assembled themselves, by their commissioners, at Edinburgh, together with certain barons and balzies of burghs (the King being then at Jedburgh for some affairs of the commonwealth.) They concluded, all in one voice, some articles to be presently demanded of his Majesty; which I omit to relate, as fitting to be suppress.

Whereupon the affairs of the King and of the church were directly opposite and repugnant to another: the King caused proclamations to be made, commanding all his lieges and subjects to

reset and receive the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Erroll, which should not be imputed unto them as a crime at any time thereafter; whereby also licence was granted unto them to pass and repass freely in any parts of the country publickly, as best should please them: The ministers, upon the contrary, offered their proclamation in the churches, to their parochiners, commanding the people to abhor them, and to refuse their companies in any kind of way, and exhorting all men to be upon their defence, and to arm themselves for expelling of these earls and their adherents: moreover the ministry, by their solicitation, had drawn a great number of people into Edinburgh. Whereupon his Majesty did call a convention of the estates, and caused a proclamation to be made, and published in divers capital towns of the realm, charging all and sundry his Majesty's subjects, of what estate, quality, or degree soever, that none of them should resort or repair to the burgh of Edinburgh, or place of his Majesty's residence, upon whatsoever colour or pretence, during the handling and ordering of these matters in question, except such persons as were appointed and specially written for, or that did crave and obtain his Majesty's licence for their coming. In this commission, which was appointed at Edinburgh for decision of all controversies, there were nominate six earls, six lords, six barons, six burgesses, and six ministers, elected and chosen by his Majesty and his council; and although the six ministers were well qualified men, and such as the rest of the brethren could justly find no fault withal; yet, because they were not nominate by

themselves in general voices, they were afraid to be prejudged in their authority and estate; and therefore, not only opponed against them, but also suborned them which were chosen by the King and the council: therefore the King, with advice of his council, commanded their names to be blotted out, that no minister thereafter should be nominate in commission, but that they all, or some certain number, by command of the rest, should only be supplicants, if they had any thing to crave, and no otherwise: and thus were the ministers themselves the cause that their authority was diminished.

The commissioners did assemble at Edinburgh, as was appointed; and after some few days disputation and reasoning, amongst divers other things, they decerned that the three Popish earls and Achindowne should not from thence forth be accused for the crime they were summoned for, founded upon the blanks; but the same to remain abolished and in oblivion and to be null thereafter: which was proclaimed, by edict, at the market cross of Edinburgh.

The advertisment of this edict being sent from Edinburgh to the Queen of England by her ambassador, she sent the lord Southe into Scotland, willing the King to remit his lenity towards the Catholic lords, and deal plainly with rigorous justice, as the cause and good reason required. The two ambassadors of England followed the King from Edinburgh to Stirling, by whose diligence and procurement letters were directed, charging the Roman Catholick earls to enter their persons in prison, under the pain of treason.

There was also a parliament proclaimed, to be holden the 15th of April next ensuing. In the mean time, great instance was made by the ministers of Scotland and by the ambassadors of England, that the Roman Catholick lords should be summoned to hear and see the process of forfalture led against them. In end they do prevail; and direction was given for the same against the parliament, which was appointed to be in April 1594. Not-theless of all this, the ambassadors of England, and the ministers of Scotland, thinking that the King and his counsellors were more negligent in prosecuting of the Popish lords than was promised or expected; it was secretly devised that the earl of Bothwell, being an outlaw, should invade Scotland, by the assistance of England, upon two pretences; the first was, that, by the help of the ministers, he might banish the Popish lords out of the realm of Scotland, and that the Queen of England should support him with money; which being known and revealed, did so incense the King against her ambassador, that a special gentleman of the lord Southe's was committed to prison in the castle of Edinburgh, who confessed, that, by the command of the ambassador, he had spoken with the earl of Bothwell and with Mr. John Colvill (Bothwell his chief counsellor.) The second pretence was to revenge the earl of Murray his death against Huntley and his partakers; and to fortify his purpose, the earls of Argyle and Athole should be ready in arms, attending Bothwell his coming, to join with him against Huntley.

The King, hearing of these two pretences, thought expedient, with advice of his council, to make a general proclamation that no manner of persons should convocate his lieges in arms, for whatsoever occasion, without his Majesty's licence, under the pain of death. Whereupon Bothwell came to Kelso, and from thence to Leith, the 2d of April 1594. The King being advertised of his coming, went to sermon that morning in the High Church of Edinburgh; and there, sermon being ended, he made great instance to the people, that they would assist him to suppress their common enemy Bothwell; and, to animate the ministry and the people, he promised, in their presence, that he should never lay down arms, till he either suppressed or banished the Popish lords and their adherents: so, the King led the people out of Edinburgh towards Leith; and, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, there was a company selected out of the army, which, under the conduct of the lord Hume and Weimes Colvill, should invade Bothwell; who, perceiving the King marching out of Edinburgh, with his army, towards Leith; and seeing that the earls of Argyle and Athole had failed him, he retires from Leith, with his company, and takes the way to Mussilburgh, and so to return into England: but the lord Hume, with his train, overtakes Bothwell beside Duddistoun, where, after a little skirmish, the lord Hume was overthrown, and all his people beaten and chased back again to Edinburgh. Bothwell, perceiving that the King was sending more forces against him,

retires towards the south borders, and so into England.

The earl of Bothwell being thus gone, the King returns to Edinburgh, and seeing no other means to satisfy the ministers, and all utterly to suppress Bothwell his rebellion, he condescends to the forfalture of the Popish lords, being forced to yield to the present necessity. A parliament was holden at Edinburgh the penult day of May 1594; all and whatsoever petitions then craved by the ministers were assented to by this parliament, where there were present but only three earls and six lords; by reason whereof things were violently carried by the ministers. The criminal cause of the Popish lords being read and considered by the few number of nobles there present, they would gladly have delayed the determination thereof untill a fuller convention of the nobility were assembled; but the ministers and commissioners of burghs being the greater number, prevailed; and found their hand-writs by witnesses cognosced; the rest was passed over, as proven by presumption; the nobles suspended their voices, because the Popish lords intentions were not proven judicially; always they were forfalted and made proscript by plurality of such voices as were there present, and their arms were riven in the justice place, in presence of the parliament.

These noblemen being thus forfalted, the King was also moved to make the earl of Argyle his Majesty's lieutenant-general in the north of Scotland, to invade the earls of Huntley and Errol;

whereupon followed the battle of Glenlivat in October 1594; which happened as I have declared already; and were afterward restored the year of God 1597.

FINIS.

R. Chapman, Printer, Trongate, Glasgow.

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

OF THE

Massacre of Glencoe,

CONTAINED IN

A REPORT

OF THE

Commission given by his Majesty

FOR INQUIRING INTO

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN OF GLENCOE

SUBSCRIBED AT HALYRUDHOUSE,

THE 20TH DAY OF JUNE, 1693.

Glasgow;

PRINTED FOR JOHN WYLIE & CO.

By R. Chapman.

1818.

PREFACE.

THIS action of unexampled barbarity disgraced the government of William in Scotland at the commencement of the year 1692. The rigour of the warrant, the circumstances of its execution, the mask of friendship under which an unsuspecting and unarmed people were butchered by soldiers, could scarce be exaggerated by the enemies of William, or defended by his friends. The blame was laid by the latter on the minister. They affirmed that the king, ever slow in transacting business, had signed the warrant, among other papers, without inquiry. Some, with a mixture of absurdity and injustice, defended the measure itself, as consistent with the laws of Scotland, others averred, that the officers extended their rigour beyond the letter of their orders. Though the opponents of William owned, that he was instigated to the measure by Dalrymple, they would not allow that he could be ignorant of the contents of a paper, which, apparently to screen his secretary, he had signed both at top and bottom.

Warrants of fire and sword, they acknowledged, had been often granted in Scotland, but they were seldom executed with any degree of rigour, and never against men who were not at the time actually in arms.

If the troops exceeded their orders, a point by no means clear, the King they said, in approving afterwards of their conduct made their cause his own. He would not permit the actors in this tragedy to be punished. He even promoted the most active, and distinguished them with his favour.

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSION GIVEN BY HIS MAJESTY

FOR INQUIRING INTO THE

SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN OF GLENCO.

Subscribed at Halyrudhouse, the 20th day of June, 1693.

JOHN Marquis of Tweedale, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, William Earl of Annadale, John Lord Murray, Sir James Stewart his Majesty's advocate, Adam Cockburn of Ormistone, Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeiller, and Sir William Hamilton of Whitlaw, two of the senators of the College of Justice, Sir James Ogilvie his Majesty's solicitor, and Adam Drummond of Meggins, commissioners appointed by his Majesty, by his commission under the great seal, of the date the 29th of April last past, to make inquiry, and to take trial and precognition about the slaughter of several persons of the sirname of MacDonald, and others, in Glenco, in the year

1692, by whom, and in what manner, and by what pretended authority the same was committed, with power to call for all warrants and directions given in that matter; as also, to examine all persons who had a hand therein, with what witnesses they should find necessary, either upon oath or declaration; and to report to his Majesty the true state of the said matter, with the evidence and testimonies to be adduced before them, as the said commission more amply bears; having mett, and qualified themselves by taking the oath of allegiance and assurance, conform to the act of parliament, with the oath *de fideli*, as use is in such cases, did, according to the power given to them, chuse Mr. Alexander Monro of Biercroft to be their clerk; and he having also qualified himself as above, they proceeded into the said inquiry, to call for all warrants and directions, with all such persons as witnesses that might give light in the said matter: And having considered the foresaid warrants and directions produced before them, and taken the oaths and depositions of the witnesses under named, they, with all submission, lay the report of the whole discovery made by them before his Majesty, in the order following. And *1st*, Of some things that preceded the said slaughter. *2dly*, Of the matters of fact, with the proofs and evidence taken, when, and in what manner, the same was committed. *3dly*, Of the warrants and directions that either really were, or were pretended for the committing it. And, *lastly*, The commissioners humble opinion of the true state and account of that whole business.

The things to be remarked preceding the said slaughter were, That its certain that the lairds of Glenco and Auchintraitten, and their followers, were in the insurrection and rebellion made by some of the Highland clans, under the command, first, of the Viscount of Dundee, and then of Major General Buchan, in the year 1689 and 1690. This is acknowleged by all: But, when the Earl of Broadalbine called the heads of the clans, and met with them in Auchallader, in July 1691, in order to a cessation, the deceased Alexander M'Donald of Glenco was there with Glengarry, Sir John Maclene, and others, and agreed to the cessation; as it is also acknowledged: But the deceased Glenco's two sons, who were at that time with their father in the town of Auchallader, depone, That they heard that the Earl of Broadalbine did at that time quarrel with the deceased Glenco, about some cows that the Earl alledged were stolen from his men by Glenco's men; and that, though they were not present to hear the words, yet their father told them of the challenge; and the two sons, with Ronald MacDonald indweller in Glenco, and Ronald M'Donald in Innerriggin in Glenco, do all depone, That they heard the deceast Glenco say, That the Earl of Broadalbine, at the meeting of Auchallader, threatned to do him a mischief; and that he fear'd a mischief from no man so much as from the Earl of Broadalbine, as their depositions at the letter A in the margin bear. And Alexander MacDonald, second son to the deceast Glenco, doth further depone, That he hath

often heard from his father and others, that there had been in former times blood betwixt Broadalbine's family and their clan, as his deposition, at the same mark, bears. And here the commissioners cannot but take notice of what hath occurred to them, in two letters from Secretary Stair to Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, one of the 1st, and another of the 3d of December, 1691; wherein he expresses his resentment, from the marring of the bargain that should have been betwixt the Earl of Broadalbine and the Highlanders, to a very great height; charging some for their despite against him, as if it had been the only hindrance of that settlement: Whence he goes on, in his of the 3d of December, to say, That since the government cannot oblige them, it is obliged to ruin some of them, to weaken and frighten the rest; and that the MacDonalds will fall in the net; and, in effect, seems even from that time, which was almost a month before the expiring of the King's indemnity, to project with Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, that some of them should be rooted out and destroyed. His Majesty's proclamation of indemnity was published in August 1691, offering a free indemnity and pardon to all the Highlanders who had been in arms, upon their coming in and taking the oath of allegiance, betwixt that and the first of January thereafter: And, in compliance with the proclamation, the deceased Glenco goes, about the end of December 1691, to Colonel Hill governor of Fort-William at Inverlochy, and desired the Colonel to minister to him the oath of allegiance, that

he might have the King's indemnity; but Colonel Hill, in his deposition marked with the letter B, doth further depone, That he hastened him away all that he could, and gave him a letter to Ardkinlass to receive him as a lost sheep; and the Colonel produces Ardkinlass's answer to that letter, dated the 9th January 1691, bearing, that he had endeavoured to receive the great lost sheep Glenco, and that Glenco had undertaken to bring in all his friends and followers, as the privy council should order: And Ardkinlass further writes, that he was sending to Edinburgh, that Glenco, though he had mistaken in coming to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance, might yet be welcome; and that thereafter the Colonel should take care that Glenco's friends and followers may not suffer, till the King and council's pleasure be known, as the said letter, marked on the back with the letter B, bears. And Glenco's two sons above name do depone in the same manner, that their father went, about the end of December, to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance; but finding his mistake, and getting the Colonel's letter to Ardkinlass, he hastened to Inveraray, as soon as he could for the bad way and weather, and did not so much as go to his own house in his way to Inveraray, though he past within half a mile of it; as both their depositions at the letter B bears. And John M'Donald, the eldest son, depones further, at the same mark, That his father was taken in the way by Captain Drummond at Barcalden, and detained twenty-four hours.

Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlass, sheriff-depute of Argyll-shire, depones, That the deceased Glenco came to Inveraray about the beginning of January 1692, with a letter from Colonel Hill to the effect above mentioned; and was three days there before Ardkinlass could get thither, because of bad weather; and that Glenco said to him, that he had not come sooner because he was hindered by the storm. And Ardkinlass farther depones, That, when he declined to give the oath of allegiance to Glenco, because the last of December, the time appointed for the taking of it, was past, Glenco begged with tears, that he might be admitted to take it; and promised to bring in all his people, within a short time, to do the like; and if any of them refused, they should be imprisoned, or sent to Flanders: Upon which Ardkinlass says, he did administer to him the oath of allegiance, upon the 6th of January 1692, and sent a certificate thereof to Edinburgh, with Colonel Hill's letter to Colin Campbell sheriff-clerk of Argyle, who was then at Edinburgh; and further wrote to the said Colin, that he should write back to him whether Glenco's taking the oath was allowed by the council or not, as Ardkinlass's deposition at the letter B testifies. And the said Colin, sheriff-clerk, depones, That the foresaid letters, and the certificate relating to Glenco, with some other certificates relating to some other persons, all upon one paper, were sent in to him to Edinburgh by Ardkinlass; which paper being produced upon oath by Sir Gilbert Elliot, clerk to the secret council, but rolled and

scored as to Glenco's part, and his taking the oath of allegiance; yet the commissioners found, that it was not so delete or dashed, but that it may be read that Glenco did take the oath of allegiance at Inveraray the 6th day of January 1692. And the said Colin Campbell depones, That it came to his hand fairly written, and not dashed; and that, with this certificate, he had the same letter from Ardkinlass, (with Colonel Hill's above mentioned letter to Ardkinlass inclosed), bearing how earnest Glenco was to take the oath of allegiance, and that he had taken it upon the 6th of January; but that Ardkinlass was doubtfull if that the council would receive it. And the sheriff-clerk did produce before the commissioners the foresaid letter by Colonel Hill to Ardkinlass, dated at Fort-william the 31st day of December 1691, and bearing, that Glenco had been with him, but slipt some days out of ignorance; yet that it was good to bring in a lost sheep at any time, and would be an advantage to render the King's government easy. And, with the said sheriff-clerk, the Lord Aberuchill, Mr. John Campbell writer to the signet, and Sir Gilbert Elliot clerk to the council, do all declare, That Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlass's foresaid certificate as to his part of it, did come to Edinburgh, and was seen by them, fairly written, and not scored or dashed; but that Sir Gilbert, and the other clerks of the council, refused to take it in, because done after the day appointed by the proclamation: Whereupon the said Colin Campbell, and Mr. John Campbell,

went, as they depone, to the Lord Aberuchill, then a privy councillor, and desired him to take the advice of privy councillors about it: And accordingly they affirm, that Aberuchill said, he had spoke to several privy councillors, and party to the Lord Stairs, and that it was their opinion, that the foresaid certificate could not be received, without a warrant from the King; and that it would neither be safe to Ardkinlass, nor profitably to Glenco, to give in the certificate to the clerk of the council: And this the Lord Aberuchill confirms by his deposition; but doth not name therein the Lord Stair. And Colin Campbell the sheriff-clerk does further depone, That, with the knowledge of Lord Aberuchill, Mr. John Campbell, and Mr. David Moncrief clerk to the council, he did by himself, or his servant, score or delete the foresaid certificate, as now it stands scored, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance; and that he gave it in so scored or obliterate to the said Mr. David Moncrieff clerk of the council, who took it in as it is now produced. But it doth not appear by all these depositions, that the matter was brought to the council-board that the council's pleasure might be known upon it, though it seems to have been intended by Ardkinlass, who both wrote himself, and sent Colonel Hill's letter to make Glenco's excuse; and desired expressly to know the council's pleasure.

After that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, as is said, he went home to his own house; and, as his own sons above-named depone, he not

only lived there for some days, quietly and securely, but called his people together, and told them he had taken the oath of allegiance, and made his peace; and therefore desired and engaged them to live peaceably under K. William's government; as the depositions of the said two sons, who were present, marked with the letter E, bear.

These things having preceeded the slaughter, which happened not to be committed untill the 13th of February 1692, six weeks after the deceased Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance at Inveraray; the slaughter of the Glenco men was in this manner, viz. John and Alexander M'Donalds, sons to the deceased Glenco, depone, That Glengary's house being reduced, the forces were called back to the south; and Glenlyon, a Captain of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, with Lieutenant Lindsay and Ensign Lindsay, and six score soldiers, returned to Glenco about the 1st of February, 1692; where, at their entry, the elder brother John met them, with about twenty men, and demanded the reason of their coming; and Lieutenant Lindsay shewed him his orders for quartering there, under Colonel Hill's hand; and gave assurance, that they were only come to quarter; whereupon, they were billeted in the country, and had free quarters and kind entertainment, living familiarly with the people, until the 13th day of February. And Alexander further depones, That Glenlyon being his wife's uncle, came almost every day and took his morning drink at his house; and that the very night before the slaughter, Glenlyon did play at

cards in his own quarters with both the brothers. And John depones, That old Glenco his father had invited Glenlyon, Lieutenant Lindsay, and Ensign Lindsay to dine with him, upon the very day the slaughter happened: But, on the 13th day of February, being Saturday, about four or five in the morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where having called in a friendly manner, and got in, they shot his father dead, with several shots, as he was rising out of his bed; and the mother having got up and put on her cloaths, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth; as likewise they killed one man more, and wounded another grievously at the same place: And this relation they say they had from their mother; and is confirmed by the deposition of Archibald M'Donald indweller in Glenco, who farther depones, That Glenco was shot behind his back with two shots, one through the head and another through the body; and two more were killed with him in that place, and a third wounded, and left for dead: And this he knows because he came that same day to Glenco's house, and saw his dead body lying before the door, with the other two that were killed, and spoke with the third that was wounded, whose name was Duncan Don, who came their occasionally with letters from the Brae of Marr. The said John M'Donald, eldest son to the deceased Glenco, depones, The same morning that his father was killed, there came soldiers to his house

before day, and called at his window, which gave him the alarm, and made him go to Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered; and that he found Glenlyon and his men preparing their arms, which made the deponent ask the cause; but Glenlyon gave him only good words, and said, they were to march against some of Glengary's men; and, if there were ill intended, would not he have told Sandy and his niece? meaning the deponent's brother and his wife; which made the deponent go home, and go again to his bed, until his servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised him; and, when he rose and went out, he perceived about twenty men coming towards his house, with their bayonets fixed to their muskets; whereupon he fled to the hill; and having Auchnaion, a little village of Glenco, in view, he heard the shots, wherewith Auchintraiten and four more were killed; and that he heard also the shots at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon had caused to kill nine more, as shall be hereafter declared. And this confirmed by the concurring deposition of Alexander M'Donald his brother, whom a servant waked out of sleep, saying, It is no time for you to be sleeping when they are killing your brother at the door, which made Alexander to flee, with his brother, to the hill, where both of them heard the foresaid shots at Auchnaion and Innerriggen. And the said, John, Alexander, and Archibald M'Donald, do all depone, That the same morning there was one Sergeant Barber laid hold on Auchentraiten's brother, one of the four, and asked him if he were alive: He answered, that he was; and that he desired to die

without, rather than within. Barber said, that, for his meat that he had eaten, he would do him the favour to kill him without. But when the man was brought out, and soldiers brought up to shoot him, he having his plaid loose, flung it over their faces, and so escaped; and the other three broke through the back of the house, and escaped: And this account the deponents had from the men that escaped. And at Innerrigen, where Glenlyon was quartered, the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind them hand and foot, killed them one by one with shot: And when Glenlyon inclined to save a young man of about twenty years of age, one Captain Drummond came and asked how came he to be saved, in respect of the orders that were given? and shot him dead: And another young boy, of about 13 years, ran to Glenlyon to be saved; he was likewise shot dead: And in the same town there was a woman, and a boy about 4 or 5 years of age, killed: And at Auchnaion there was also a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand. There were likewise several killed at other places, whereof one was an old man about 80 years of age. And all this the doponents say they affirm, because they heard the shot, saw the dead bodies, and had an account from the women that were left. And Ronald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco, farther depones, That he being living with his father in a little town of Glenco, some of Glenlyon's soldiers came to his father's house, the said 13th of February, in the morning, and dragged his father out of his bed, and knocked him down for dead, at the

door; which the deponent seeing, made his escape; and his father recovering, after the soldiers were gone, got into another house; but this house was shortly burnt, and his father burnt in it; and the deponent came thereafter, and gathered his father's bones, and burnt them. He also declares, That at Auchnaion, where Auchintraiten was killed, he saw the body of Auchintraiten and three more, cast out, and covered with dung. And another witness of the same declares, That, upon the same 13th of February, Glenlyon, and Lieutenant Lindsay, and their soldiers, did, in the morning before day, fall upon the people of Glenco, when they were secure in their beds, and killed them; and he being at Innerrigen, fled with the first, but heard shots; and had two brothers killed there, with three men more, and a woman; who were all buried before he came back. And all these five witnesses concur, That the foresaid slaughter was made by Glenlyon and his soldiers, after they had been quartered, and lived peaceably and friendly with the men of Glenco, about 13 days; and that the number of those whom they knew to be slain were about 25: And that the soldiers, after the slaughter, did burn the houses, barns, and goods; and carryed away a great spoil of horse, nolt, and sheep, above a thousand. And James Campbell soldier in the castle of Stirling depones, That in January 1692, he being then soldier in Glenlyon's company, marched with the company from Inverlochy to Glenco, where the company was quartered, and very kindly intertained, for the space of 14 days:

That he knew nothing of the design of killing the Glenco men till the morning that the slaughter was committed; at which time Glenlyon and Captain Drummond's companies were drawn out in several parties, and got orders from Glenlyon, and their other officers, to shoot and kill all the country-men they met with; and that the deponent, being one of the party which was at the town where Glenlyon had his quarters, did see several men drawn out of their beds; and particularly he did see Glenlyon's own landlord shot by his order, and a young boy of about twelve years of age, who endeavoured to save himself by taking hold of Glenlyon, offering to go any where with him, if he would spare his life; and was shot dead by Captain Drummond's order: And the deponent did see about eight persons killed, and several houses burnt, and women flying to the hills to save their lives. And, lastly, Sir Colin Campbell of Aberucehill depones. That, after the slaughter, Glenlyon told him, that Mac-Donald of Innerriggen was killed, with the rest of the Glenco men, with Colonel Hill's pass or protection in his pocket, which a soldier brought, and shewed to Glenlyon.——The testimonies above set down, being more than sufficient to prove a deed so notoriously known, it is only to be remarked, that more witnesses of the actors themselves might have been found, if Glenlyon and his soldiers were not at present in Flanders with Argyle's regiment. And its further added, that Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, who seems, by the orders and letters

that shall be hereafter set down, to have had the particular charge of this execution, did march, the night before the slaughter, with about 400 men; but the weather falling to be very bad and severe, they were forced to stay by the way, and did not get to Glenco against the next morning, as had been concerted betwixt Major Duncanson and Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton: So that the measures being broke, Lieut-Colonel Hamilton and his men came not to Glenco till about eleven of the clock after the slaughter had been committed: which proved the preservation and safety of the tribe of Glenco; since by this means the far greater part of them escaped. And then the Lieutenant-Colonel being come to Canneloch-Levin, appointed several parties for several posts, with orders that they should take no prisoners, but kill all the men that came in their way. Thereafter, some of the Lieutenant-Colonel's men marched forward in the glen, and met with Major Duncanson's party, whereof a part under Glenlyon had been sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to quarter there some days before; and these men told how they had killed Glenco, and about thirty-six of his men, that morning; and that there remained nothing to be done by the Lieutenant-Colonel and his men, save that they burnt some houses, and killed an old man, by the Lieutenant-Colonel's orders, and brought away the spoil of the country: And this in its several parts is testified by John Forbes, Major in Colonel Hill's Regiment, Francis Farquhar and Gilbert Kennedy, both lieutenants in

that regiment, who were all of the Lieutenant-Colonel's party, as their depositions more fully bear. It may also be here noticed, That some days after the slaughter of the Glenco men was over, there came a person from Campbell of Balcalden, chamberlain, i. e. steward to the earl of Broadalbin, to the deceast Glenco's sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their hands, that the Earl of Broadalbin was free and clear of the foresaid slaughter, they might be assured of the Earl's kindness for procuring their remission and restitution; as was plainly deponed before the commissioners. It remains now, to give an account of the warrants, either given, or pretended to be given, for the committing of the foresaid slaughter; for clearing whereof, it is to be noticed, That the King having been pleased to offer by proclamation, an indemnity to all the Highland rebels, who should come in and accept thereof, by taking the oaths of allegiance, betwixt and the first of January 1692; after the day was elapsed, it was very proper to give instructions how such of the rebels as had refused his Majesty's grace, should be treated; and therefore, his Majesty, by his instructions, of the date the 11th January 1692, directed to Sir Thomas Livingstone, and supersigned and countersigned by himself, did, indeed order and authorise Sir Thomas to march the troops against the rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and sword; (which is the actual style of our commissions against intercommuned rebels;) but with this express mitigation in the fourth article,

viz. That the rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, That chieftains and heritors, or leaders be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy; they taking the oaths of allegiance, and rendering their arms and submitting to the government, are to have quarters and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers; as the principal paper of instructions, produced by Sir Thomas Livingston, bears. After these instructions, there were additional ones given by his Majesty to Sir Thomas Livingston, upon the 16th of the said month of January, supersigned and countersigned by his majesty, and the date marked by Secretary Stair's hand; which bear orders for giving of passes, and for receiving the submission of certain of the rebels: Wherein all to be noticed to the present purpose is, That therein his Majesty doth judge it much better that these two took not the benefit of the indemnity in due time should be obliged to render upon mercy, they still taking the oaths of allegiance; and then its added, If Mackean of Glenco, and that tribe, can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves. And of these additional instruction a principal duplicate was sent to Sir Thomas Livingston, and another to Colonel Hill, and were both produced. And these were all the instructions given by the King in this matter. But Secretary Stair, who sent down these instruc-

tions, as his letters produced, written with his hands to Sir Thomas, of the same date with them, testify, by a previous letter of the date of the 7th of the said month of January, written and subscribed by him to Sir Thomas, says, You know in general, that these troops posted at Inverness and Innerlochy will be ordered to take in the house of Invergarie, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochabar, Locheall's lands, Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Glenco; and then adds, I assure you your power shall be full enough; and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners. And, by another letter of the said month of January, which is likewise before the instructions, and written to Sir Thomas, as the former he hath this expression, That these who remain of the rebels are not able to oppose, and their chieftains being all papists, it is well the vengeance falls there: For my part, I could have wished the MacDonalds had not divided; and I am sorry that Keppoch and Mackean of Glenco are safe. And then afterwards we have an account, that Locheall, Macnaughton, Appin, and Glenco, took the benefit of the indemnity at Inveraray, and Keppoch and others at Inverness. But this letter of the 11th of January, sent with the first instructions to Sir Thomas, hath this expression: 'I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glenco; and its well that people are in mercy.' And then, 'Just now my Lord Argyle tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the oath: At which I rejoice. It is a great work of

charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect; the worst of the Highlands.' But in his letter of the 16th of January, of the same date with the additional instructions, though he writes in the first part of the letter, 'The king does not at all incline to receive any after the diet, but no mercy;' yet he thereafter adds, 'But, for a just example of vengeance, I intreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose.' And to confirm this, by his letter of the same date, sent with the other principal duplicate, and additional instructions to Colonel Hill, after having written, that such as render on mercy may be saved, he adds: 'I shall entreat you, that, for a just vengeance, and public example, the tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose: The Earls of Argyle and Broadalbine have promised that they shall have no retreat in their bounds; the passes to Ranach would be secured; and the hazard certified to the laird of Weems to resett them: In that case, Argyle's detachment, with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off; and the people of Appin are none of the best.' This last letter, with the instructions for Colonel Hill, was received by Major Forbes, in his name, at Edinburgh; and the Major depones, That, by the allowance he had from the Colonel, he did unseal the packet, and found therein the letter and instructions, as above, which he sent forward to Colonel Hill. And that, in the beginning of February 1692, being in his way to Fort William, he met some companies of Argyle's regiment at Bel-

lishields, and was surprised to understand that they were going to quarter in Glenco; but said nothing till he came to Fort-William, where Colonel Hill told him, that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton had got orders about the affair of Glenco; and that therefore the Colonel had left it to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton's management, who, he apprehends, had concerted the matter with Major Duncanson. And Colonel Hill depones, That he understood that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton and Major Duncanson got the orders about the Glenco men which were sent to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton: That, for himself, he liked not the business, but was very grieved at it: That the King's instructions of the 16th of January 1692, with the Master of Stair's letter of the same date, were brought to him by Major Forbes, who had received them, and unsealed the packet at Edinburgh; as as these two depositions do bear. Yet the execution and slaughter of the Glenco men did not immediately take effect; and thereafter, on the 30th of the said month of January, the Master of Stair doth again write two letters, one to Sir Thomas Livingston, which bears, 'I am glad that Glenco did not come in within the time prefixed: I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in condition to draw together to help: I think to harry (that is, to drive) their cattle, and burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours; but I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out, and

cut off: It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and cattle: Argyle's detachment lies in Letrickwell, to assist the garrison to do all of a sudden:' And the other to Colonel Hill, which bears: 'Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you; and better not meddle with them than not do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the King's justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great, that, for some time, you can do little; but, so soon as possible, I know you will be at work; for these false people will do nothing but as they see you in a condition to do with them.' Sir Thomas Livingston having got the King's instructions with Secretary Stair's letter of the 16th of January, and knowing, by a letter he had from the Master of Stair, of the date the 7th of January 1692, that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton was to be the man employed in the execution of the Glenco men, in pursuance of the secretary's letter, he writes to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, upon the 23d of the said month of January, telling him, 'That it was judged good news that Glenco had not taken the oath of allegiance within the time prefixed, and that Secretary Stair, in his last letter, had made mention of him;' and then adds, 'For, Sir, here is a fair occasion for you to show that your garrison serves for some use; and, seeing that the orders are so positive from court to

me, not to spare any of them that have not timely come in, as you may see by the orders I send to your colonel, I desire you will begin with Glenco, and spare nothing which belongs to him; but do not trouble the government with prisoners; as this letter produced by Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton bears.' And Sir Thomas being heard upon this letter, declared, That at that time he was immediately returned from his journey to London, and that he knew nothing of any soldiers being quartered in Glenco, and only meant that he should be prosecuted as a rebel standing out, by fair hostility; and in this sense he made use of the same words and orders written to him by Secretary Stair. Thereafter, Colonel Hill gives his orders, to be directed to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, in these terms: 'Sir, you are, with 400 of my regiment, and the 400 of my Lord Argyle's regiment, under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander in chief. Given under my hand, at Fort-William, the 12th day of February 1692.' And this order is also produced by Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton. Then, the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton wrote to Major Duncanson in these terms: 'Sir, pursuant to the commander in chief and my colonel's orders to me, for putting in execution the service against the rebels of Glenco, wherein you, with a party of Argyle's regiment, now under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore to order your affairs

so, that you be at the several posts assigned you, by seven of the clock to morrow morning being Saturday, and fall in action with them; at which time I will endeavour to be with the party from this place at the post appointed them. It will be necessary that the avenues minded by Lieutenant Campbell on the south side be secured, that the old fox, nor none of his cubs, get away. The orders are, that none be spared, nor the government troubled with prisoners.' And the copy of this last order is produced under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's own hand. And accordingly the slaughter of Glenco and his poor people did ensue the next morning, being the 13th of February 1692, in the manner narrated. And upon the whole matter it is the opinion of the commissioner, *first*, That it was a great wrong that Glenco's case, and diligence as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlass's certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the 6th of January 1692, and Colonel Hill's letter to Ardkinlass, and Ardkinlass's letter to Colin Campbell sheriff-clerk, for clearing Glenco's diligence and innocence, were not presented to the Lords of his Majesty's privy council, when they were sent in to Edinburgh in the said month of January; and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco: And that it was a further wrong, that the certificate as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance was delete and obliterate after it came to Edinburgh; and that being so obliterate, it should neither have been

presented to, or taken in by the clerk of the council, without an express warrand from the council. *Secondly*, That it appears to have been known at London, and particularly to the Master of Stair, in the month of January 1692, that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the day perfixed; for he saith, in his letter of the 30th of January to Sir Thomas Livingston, as above remarked, 'I am glad that Glenco came not in within the time prescrib'd.' *Thirdly*, That there was nothing in the King's instructions to warrand the committing of the foresaid slaughter, even as to the thing itself, and far less as to the manner of it; seeing all his instructions do plainly import, that the most obstinate of the rebels might be received into mercy, upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glenco and his tribe; but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves; which plainly intimates, that it was his Majesty's mind, that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels, unless they still refused his mercy, by continuing in arms and refusing the allegiance; and that, even in that case, they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and no other way. *Fourthly*, That Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the 11th of January 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had not taken the oath, and that of the 16th of January, of the same date with the King's

additional instructions, and that of the 30th of the same month, were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the King's foresaid instructions. Since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off, and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that suddenly, and secretly, and quietly, and all on a sudden; which are the express terms of the said letters; and, comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter; which in effect was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the persons deponed against. And this is yet farther confirmed by two more of his letters, written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter committed, viz. on the 5th March 1692, wherein after having said that there was much talk at London, that the Glenco men were murdered in their beds after they had taken the allegiance, he continues, 'For the last I know nothing of it. I am sure neither you, nor any body impowered to treat or give indemnity, did give Glenco the oath; and to take it from any body else, after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all: All that I regret is, that any of the sort got away; and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost.' And another from the Hague, the last of April 1692, wherein he says, 'For the people of Glenco, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to ridd the country of thieving, you need not trouble

yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself, by shewing all your orders which are now put in the Paris Gazette: When you do right, you need fear nobody; All that can be said is, that, in the execution, it was neither so full nor so fair as it might have been.' And this, their humble opinion, the commissioners, with all submission, return and lay before his Majesty, in discharge of the foresaid commission.

Sic Subscribitur, Tweedale; Annandale, now Marquis of Annandale, and President of the Privy Council; Murray, now Duke of Athol, and Lord Privy Seal; Ja. Stewart, her Majesty's Advocate; Adam Cockburn, late Lord Treasurer-depute; W. Hamilton; Lord Whitlaw, one of the Lords of Session; Ja. Ogilvie, now E. of Seafield, and Lord High Chancellor; A. Drummond.

FINIS.

R. Chapman, Printer, Trongate, Glasgow.